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EDITOR'S COMMENTS

THIS issue of *The American Neptune* covers a wide area in time, in space, and in subject matter. It begins with your editor's long article on 'The Medieval Background of European and American Oceanic History.' This represents an attempt to explain in the broadest possible way why Western Europeans and Americans found an oceanic destiny for themselves while their rivals in other old-world civilizations failed to do so. It is to be hoped that readers with naval and maritime concerns will find some interest in such a survey at a time when America's naval predominance is being challenged everywhere by the Soviet Union, and her maritime interests seem to be threatened by the rising economic and maritime power of Japan.

We follow with an interesting piece by John Q. Feller entitled, 'China Sojourn: A Brief Account of Commander Bushrod B. Taylor's Tour of Duty.' This account explains the important role of naval officers during the mid-nineteenth century in the acquisition of Chinese porcelain, pottery and other trade objects in China's Pacific ports. It illustrates on a minor scale the mixed naval and commercial role of Americans in East Asian waters—already mentioned in your editor's broad initial survey noted above.

Then the mood and the scene changes with a third article by William S. Dudley and Michael A. Palmer called, 'No Mistake About It: A Response to Jonathan R. Dull.' This is a careful and detailed analysis of Dull's recent *Neptune* piece criticizing the use of the first American navy during the Revolution. Its emphasis upon this navy's role in providing a basis for a more united nation during the Revolutionary War with Britain seems especially important and well-taken.

Next we turn to an earlier period with John Gilchrist's careful summary of the evidence that the Cabots reached the coast of Maine in 1498. This piece entitled, 'Cabotian Conjectures: Did a Cabot Reach Maine in 1498?' comes to the conclusion that this is so, and represents a modification of Samuel Morison's views on the subject and an agreement in general with those of David Quinn.

This is followed by a much later view of this same Maine coast which by now had become a special preserve of our yachting brethren, in an article by John S. Bower, Jr., entitled, 'Almost Down East.' Anyone who has cruised along Maine's island-dotted and rugged shores will find the log of the sloop *Jennifer* during August of 1967, a familiar story indeed. One hopes that the Cabots did better in these Down East waters.

Next we have a long review article by Colonel Roger Willock which deals with the magnificent three-volume 'Dictionary of American Military Biography' of which Roger A. Spiller and Edward G. Dawson are the general editors. Colonel Willock's review of the importance of this biographical approach to our armed services represents a real addition to our understanding of their role at a time when the entire 'Joint-Chief' system is under serious congressional attack and scrutiny and thus is especially timely. And finally this issue contains our regular five-year cumulative index of the materials which have appeared in the *Neptune* since 1980, which we hope many of our subscribers will find useful in their researches.

In short, in this issue we start with the medieval naval and maritime world, examine the nineteenth-century Chinese coast and reexamine the Revolutionary navy. Then we attempt to unravel the puzzle of the Cabots' American voyages, trace a yacht along Maine's shores five centuries later and end up with a broad view of how our armed forces, including the Navy and Marine Corps, have functioned in our American nation's experience.

ARCHIBALD R. LEWIS

Salem, Massachusetts

The Medieval Background of European and American Oceanic History

ARCHIBALD R. LEWIS

MOST American historians would agree that the term 'oceanic history' can quite rightly be applied to the maritime past of Western Europe and the Americas since the time of Prince Henry the Navigator, Columbus, Cabot, Vespucci, and Cabral. But they have not paid sufficient attention as to why we and the rest of Western European civilization, of which we are a part, developed this oceanic capacity when its great sister civilizations of medieval and early modern times—the Indic, the Islamic, and the East Asian—failed to accomplish as much along these lines. This article represents a preliminary attempt to explain why this happened and why European and American seamen from early modern times on were able to display this oceanic capacity, not only in the Atlantic but also throughout the Seven Seas where they ventured in their sturdy vessels as mariners, whalers, traders, and explorers.

One cannot, of course, in a single article answer this question in all its ramifications and complexities. But one can explore some reasons why it happened and why Islamic, Indic, and East Asian peoples failed to find a destiny on the oceans of the world. And in doing so we should be able to stimulate modern naval and maritime historians, in particular, to examine the medieval past of their specialties.

One might begin by noting that to understand the maritime development of a civilization one needs to consider a number of its aspects—those aspects of its technology which impinge upon the sea, its military and naval potential and concerns, the way in which its economy revolves about the oceans, and how its government or governments are organized to deal with naval and maritime matters, especially as regards control of overseas territory.

Western Europe's oceanic technology, of which we in North America are also the heirs, began quite early in the Middle Ages with the development of two remarkable oceanic vessels—the Irish *curragh* or coracle, and the Viking *knorr* in which first the Celts of Ireland and then the Scandinavians sailed out into the stormy Atlantic and settled on offshore islands of the British Isles, Iceland, and Greenland and even briefly made an attempt to find a home along the shores of Newfoundland.[1] The Greenland colony, at least the southern portion of it, lasted for five centuries until almost the time of Columbus's first voyage.[2]

Irish and Scandinavian vessels were succeeded by a slow development of other medieval Atlantic craft which evolved out of the *buss, keel, cog,* and *hulk* to become the full-rigged ship of the early fifteenth century, which we know as the *carrack,* or a somewhat different ship known as the *caravel,* which was developed by the Portuguese at about the same time. By the middle of this same century, Portuguese mariners used *caravels* to colonize Madeira and the Azores and to sail down the coast of West Africa as far as Guinea on their way to the Indian Ocean. In full-rigged *carracks,* Western European seamen were able to establish firm connections by sea between the northern shores of Europe and the Mediterranean-Black Sea complex. Both proved indispensable in opening up the wider world to Western Europeans and to those who after 1492 established themselves on the other side of the Atlantic.

Closely linked with this technological accomplish-

1. A. R. Lewis, 'The Medieval Background of American Atlantic Maritime Development,' in *The Atlantic World of Robert G. Albion,* ed. B. W. Larabee (Middletown, Conn., 1975), pp. 22-25. See also A. R. Lewis, *The Northern Seas* (Princeton, 1958), pp. 67-181.

2. The best account is in Finn Gad, *A History of Greenland,* I (Copenhagen, 1978).

ment of building seaworthy oceangoing ships which Parry, Unger, and a number of others have described so well for us was the development of better maps, charts, and methods of navigation.[3] Some have claimed that the first steps in all this date from late Viking times when the first *rutters*, or sailing directions, appeared in Atlantic waters. By the thirteenth century the modern boxed compass was in use in the Latin world of the Mediterranean, developed perhaps from a twelfth-century English prototype. This made possible accurate *portolan* charts, which by the late Middle Ages had spread into Northern European Atlantic waters. And as this happened, maps improved and became connected with *portolan* charts as the Great Catalan Atlas of 1375 clearly shows. By 1492 such maps were depicting a wider world that stretched all the way to East Asia, and were laying the bases of what the great European mapmakers of early modern times were to produce.[4]

Navigation also made great progress during these years as *portolan* charts began to be combined with *rutters* in the Atlantic, as the Southern Cross began to be used as a navigational aid from the Equator southward, and as the Portuguese perfected the famous *volta* as a method of sailing back and forth along the shores of West Africa and its offshore islands.[5] By the time of Columbus and Vasco da Gama, Western European mariners had at their disposal superior skills they could use to navigate throughout the oceans of the world.

In certain respects, it was the Indic world which came closest to rivaling the medieval oceanic expertise of the Latin West down to 1500—a fact that is only slowly being grasped by maritime historians. This Indic world in the very broadest sense of the word was linked by an early rival of the coracle and the *knorr*—the seagoing outrigger canoe which seems to have carried Indic peoples along oceanic routes from Madagascar and Ceylon, through Indonesian waters all the way out into the South Pacific world of Micronesia and Polynesia. According to carbon-dating evidence, such vessels carried settlers to Hawaii by A.D. 100, and brought boatloads of others to the shores of New Zealand between A.D. 800 and 1400.

If the outrigger canoe was the first and most ubiquitous oceanic craft developed by the Indic world, it was not the only one, for by the early years of the Christian era we know other kinds of vessels had appeared and were sailing the seas from Java to the western ports of the Indian Ocean—ships which we know under the generic term of *dhows*. In *dhows*, Indian and Indonesian mariners sailed from East African and Arabian coasts to the Straits of Malacca and beyond as far as the Spice Islands and the shores of Southern China. As Marco Polo and many others since his time have pointed out, *dhows* have serious limitations as oceanic vessels—a fact which the tales of Sinbad the Sailor make very clear—but they were not the only oceanic ships developed in these waters. By the late Middle Ages in Gujerat, along the west coast of India, the merchants of Cambay, according to the Portuguese Varthema, were building and using huge merchant ships known as *capels* which were fully the equal of the European full-rigged ship and were constructed with nails and had multiple masts. In these vessels, Indian merchants sailed regularly to East Africa and to Malacca on trading voyages, though there is no evidence they sailed them any farther east. And by that time or even earlier, still other Indic sailors were using an Indic version of the Chinese *junk* to carry bulk cargoes in Burmese and Indonesian waters along oceanic trade routes.[6]

As for navigation, though we believe the compass was slow to reach this part of the world from either China or the Mediterranean, it is clear that celestial navigation was widely practiced in the Indian Ocean and by Polynesians in the waters of the open Pacific. And some kind of charts and the use of the Southern Cross are reported by European observers from the time of Marco Polo on. From the point of view of marine technology, by the late Middle Ages the Indic

3. See R. W. Unger, *The Ship in the Medieval Economy* (Montreal, 1980), pp. 11-310; and J. H. Parry, *The Discovery of the Sea* (New York, 1974) on the development of better Atlantic seagoing vessels. For maps, G. Crone, *Maps and Their Makers* (New York, 1962), pp. 25-52.

4. G. Crone, 'Fra Mauro's Representation of the Indian Ocean and the Eastern Islands,' in *Studi Columbani* (Genoa, 1962).

5. For background, see C. Verlinden, *The Beginnings of Modern Colonization*, trans. Y. Freccaro (Ithaca, 1970), and especially 'La découverte des archipels de la "Mediterranée Atlantique" (Canaries, Madères, Açores) et la navigation astronomique primitive' (Coimbra, 1978).

6. A. R. Lewis, 'Maritime Skills in the Indian Ocean, 1368-1500,' *Journal of Economic and Social History of the Orient*, 16 (Leiden, 1973), and 'Les Marchands dans L'Ocean indien, A.D. 1000-1500,' *Revue d'histoire économique et sociale*, 65 (Paris, 1976); and E. Doran, *Wanake, Austronesian Canoe Origins* (College Station, Texas, 1981).

world could have forged for itself an oceanic destiny rivaling that of Western Europe.[7]

Even more remarkable is evidence we possess from East Asia dating from the medieval period. Here, after a very slow beginning in which China evinced very little interest in the sea and was traded with by mariners from the Indic and Islamic worlds and those from nearby Korea, a sudden burst of maritime activity made its appearance about A.D. 1000 in early Sung times.

They developed remarkably seaworthy many-masted junks, which Needham has depicted so well for us and which were the most advanced oceanic vessels in the world of the time, with their compartmental construction and sturdy, timbered hulls. In these junks, which were perhaps originally an Indonesian or South Asian invention, Chinese mariners began to sail to Japan, the Philippines, and Java and on into the Indian Ocean as far as Bengal, especially during the twelfth and thirteenth centuries. And as they did so, they had at their disposal superior compasses and other navigational aids, though few maps and charts of Sung and Yuan times have survived to give us an idea of how they navigated—sometimes all the way to the Persian Gulf in a large fleet.[8]

Chinese oceanic skills seem to have survived the fall of the Mongols and continued under the early Mings, especially during the years between 1409 and 1450 when huge fleets were regularly sent into all parts of the Indian Ocean and one ship even appears to have sailed past the Cape of Good Hope into the South Atlantic. Chinese records of this expedition, however, seem to show that by this time Chinese knowledge and use of maps and charts were definitely inferior to those of contemporary Western Europeans.[9]

After the middle of the fifteenth century, Ming policies changed and their governmental authorities discouraged overseas contacts. This brought their adventurous oceanic period to an end and, as it did, leadership in East Asian oceanic waters passed to the Japanese. By late Muromachi times, their junks began to trade extensively and illegally along Chinese coasts and during the sixteenth century had begun to voyage as far south as the Philippines and Malacca. Later on in the century, they seemed about to become the main oceanic mariners of East Asia, despite Portuguese competition, and were powerful enough on the sea to attempt to conquer Korea and develop a regular trade to the South and with Manila, which was the terminus of Spain's trans-Pacific galleons that Shurz has described so well for us.[10]

Then, as suddenly as they had appeared, Japanese oceanic activities were abandoned as the Tokugawa Shoguns, after the time of Ieyasu, closed off Japan from the outside world, forbade the building of ocean-going ships, and suppressed a Christianity which Westerners had planted in Kyushu.[11] Until that time, however, the Japanese, like the Chinese, clearly had developed the technological skills to play an oceanic role in East Asia.

The third rival medieval civilization, the Islamic, represents a more complex problem because it had no overall maritime tradition common to all its peoples. Instead, it was essentially bifurcated with the Mediterranean world of Islam representing a continuation of the Graeco-Roman Byzantine tradition and the Indian Ocean world of Islam being part of the Indic maritime world. For instance, as Hourani showed long ago, from Sassanian and early Moslem times, Persian and Arab mariners sailed in their *dhows* all the way to China following monsoon routes and settled in Canton in large numbers. And they continued such voyages south along the East African coast as far as Sofala in Mozambique and east as far as Malacca and Java throughout the rest of the Middle Ages. Whether these same Arabs ever made use of superior Indian *capels* or *junks* is very doubtful, but we know that by the thirteenth century their larger ships were fitted out with stern rudders and they had at their disposal the same navigational skills and charts available to other Indian Ocean mariners.[12]

In the Mediterranean world of Islam, on the other hand, it was not until 950 that any large-scale Arab

7. G. Ferrand, *Le pilote des mers de l'Inde, et de la Chine et de l'Indonésie* (Paris, 1932-1923); and B. Finney, 'New Perspectives on Polynesian Voyaging,' in *Polynesian Culture History* (Honolulu, 1967).

8. J. Needham, *Science and Civilization in China*, vol. 4, pt. 3, of *Civil Engineering and Nautics* (Cambridge, 1977), pp. 450-94.

9. Ma Huan, *Ying-Yai Shan-Lin 'The Overall Survey of the Ocean's Shores [1433],'* trans. J. Mills (New York, 1970).

10. W. L. Schurz, *The Manila Galleons* (New York, 1939).

11. T. Tsukahira, *Feudal Control in Tokugawa Japan* (Cambridge, 1966), pp. 3-146; and C. Totman, *Politics in the Tokugawa Bakufu, 1600-1803* (Cambridge, Mass., 1968), pp. 1-87; Sansom, G., *A History of Japan 1334-1615* (London, 1961), pp. 270-365.

12. G. Hourani, *Arab Seafaring in the Indian Ocean* (Princeton, 1951), esp. illustration on p. 98; and Lewis, 'Maritime Skills,' pp. 242-48.

shipping functioned effectively. Then for three centuries we find them using the same types of galleys and merchantmen as their Byzantine and Italian neighbors as they sailed in regular seasonal convoys from Egypt and Syria to Sicily, North Africa, and Andalusia.[13] By 1250, however, they had fallen behind their Latin Christian rivals both as to the size and types of ships they employed and the use of new navigational methods like the compass and the *portolan* chart. And although in early Ottoman times they caught up with their European Mediterranean rivals in the building of war galleys and swift pirate craft, which they used in these waters and in the Red Sea and Persian Gulf as well, they never developed an oceanic maritime consciousness, as Andrew Hess has clearly shown in his study of Piri Reis and the Ottoman sixteenth- and seventeenth-century interest in the sea.[14]

On the other hand, as the writings of Idrisi and his remarkable maps reveal, in one part of the Western World, Islamic peoples made a real contribution to oceanic progress during the twelfth and thirteenth centuries. This was in South Atlantic waters where Islamic sailors appear to have explored the Canaries, sailed out as far as the Azores, and proceeded along West African shores as far as Senegal.[15] If the Spanish and Portuguese began, after their conquest of Andalusia, to sail out in this direction, it was no small measure because they were building upon what the Muslims of Spain and Atlantic Morocco had already accomplished. Somewhat less decisively then, the Islamic world also had developed by 1500 the technological foundations upon which an oceanic future might have been based.

The second basis of Western Europe's medieval oceanic experience, which she exported to the New World, were her military and naval skills and experience which by the close of the Middle Ages were much in advance of those possessed by her rivals. In both the Mediterranean and the Northern Seas of Europe, this skill had begun to appear when the Vikings proved able to attack shores all the way from the Baltic to the Straits of Gibraltar,[16] and when the Venetians, Pisans, and Genoese began to follow a similar course in the Western Mediterranean. By the time of the Crusades, both Italians and Northerners were able to send their fleets to Syria, to Romania, and to Maghrebi and Andalusian shores with impunity and had begun slowly to transform the Middle Sea into a Latin Christian lake.[17] Perhaps their most remarkable accomplishments were the amphibious attack on Constantinople during the Fourth Crusade, which Professor Queller has described so well for us,[18] or the amphibious seizures of Damietta during the Fifth and Sixth Crusades.[19] Equally astounding was the way Richard the Lionhearted during the Third Crusade sent his fleet from England all the way to the Holy Land and then used it in these remote waters to seize the island of Cyprus, destroy the Fatimid fleet, and reconquer the coast of Southern Palestine in amphibious landings.[20]

Hardly less remarkable was the naval expertise developed in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries in northern waters by English, Scandinavian, and Hanseatic fleets which was a byproduct of crusading expeditions in the Baltic and the Hundred Years' War—activities that ended up by involving new Castilian and Portuguese navies in such operations on the sea.[21] And as this happened, the Genoese, Venetians, and Catalans engaged in a number of naval wars in the Mediterranean—wars that saw the development of effective weapons like the crossbow and artillery on board ship.[22] By the time a new Ottoman navy had appeared

13. A. R. Lewis, *Naval Power and Trade in the Mediterranean, A.D. 500-1100* (Princeton, 1951), pp. 47ff; and 'Mediterranean Maritime Commerce, A.D. 300-1100. Shipping and Trade,' in *The Sea and Medieval Civilizations* (Variorum reprints. London, 1978), pp. 14-21. For a fuller account, see S. Goitein, *A Mediterranean Society*, 3 vols. (Berkeley, 1967-1971).

14. A. Hess, 'The Evolution of the Ottoman Seaborne Empire in the Age of Oceanic Discoveries, 1453-1525,' *American Historical Review*, 75 (1970); and *The Forgotten Frontier. A History of the Sixteenth Century Iberian-African Frontier* (Chicago, 1978).

15. A. R. Lewis, 'Northern European Seapower and the Straits of Gibralter, A.D. 1031-1350,' in *The Sea and Medieval Civilizations* (Variorum Reprints, London, 1978), pp. 157-60; and J. D. Fage, *A History of West Africa*, 4th ed. (Cambridge, 1969), pp. 8-17.

16. On the Vikings, see P. Sawyer, *The Age of the Vikings* (London, 1977); and P. Foote and D. Wilson, *The Viking Achievement* (London, 1970).

17. Lewis, *Naval Power*, pp. 281ff; and C. Manfroni, *Storia de la Marina Italiana*, I (Rome, 1897).

18. D. Queller, *The Fourth Crusade* (Philadelphia, 1978).

19. H. Mayer, *The Crusades*, trans. H. Gillingham (New York, 1975), pp. 36ff; and T. Boase, *The Crusades* (London, 1971), pp. 50-183.

20. T. Archer, *The Crusade of Richard I* (London, 1912).

21. F. Brooks, *The English Naval Forces, 1199-1272* (Manchester, 1972); J. Sherborne, 'The English Navy, Shipping and Manpower, 1369-1389,' *Past and Present*, 37 (1967); and 'The Battle of La Rochelle,' *Bulletin of Historical Research*, 47 (1969); W. Urban, *The Baltic Crusade* (DeKalb, Ill., 1975); and *The Livonian Crusade* (Lantham, Md., 1981); and Lewis, *Northern European Seapower*, pp. 158-62.

22. See Manfroni, op. cit., vols. I-II; and K. Setton, *The Papacy and the Levant 1204-1571*, 2 vols. (Philadelphia, 1976-1978).

a few decades after the fall of Constantinople and began to copy the tactics of its European rivals, all of Europe—Mediterranean, Baltic, and Atlantic alike—had managed to develop, as Cipolla has pointed out, the most skilled use of warships the world had seen up to that time—capable of operating miles from home ports, using the new cannon and gunpowder effectively and able to land troops in amphibious operations from a variety of craft.[23]

The other civilizations we have been examining never fully developed this kind of naval expertise. For instance, although the Islamic world possessed war fleets in the Mediterranean which could meet Byzantine and Latin flotillas successfully during the late ninth, tenth, and eleventh centuries, such fleets hardly lasted beyond the mid-eleventh century except on a local basis in the western waters of the Middle Sea.[24] And though the Ottomans were able to challenge the West in these waters during much of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, as Guilmartin has shown, this proved only a temporary phenomenon.[25] Piracy continued as an activity along Islamic Mediterranean shores, but true naval power of an oceanic kind never developed.

And this was even more true of the Indian Ocean side of the Islamic world where, with the possible exception of fleets maintained by the Rasulids of Aden during the later Middle Ages, no really organized navies ever are to be found, which is one reason why Albuquerque and the Portuguese were able to establish themselves there so easily in the early sixteenth century.[26]

And if Islamic naval expertise during these centuries was essentially ephemeral, local, or nonexistent, the record of the Indic world was even more abysmal in a naval sense. During the entire period with which we are concerned, we never hear of an effective navy in the Indic world with the possible exception of a few Chola fleets that operated in the Bay of Bengal in the eleventh century and some Champa squadrons that were to be found in the South China Sea in the late thirteenth. Even obviously maritime-minded realms like Srivajaya and its successors, the Sultanate of Malacca or Java, during the high Middle Ages never developed naval organization in the Western European sense. Piracy in these waters was endemic and remained so into late modern times, but true naval power never existed.[27] And by the time large militarized realms had appeared in the Indian subcontinent, like the Sultanate of Delhi, Vijayanagar, or the Moghul Empire, it is striking that they eschewed the sea altogether. And this explains why both the Portuguese and their successors—the Dutch, English, and French—were able to establish control of the waters of the Indian Ocean in early modern times with so little local opposition.

In many ways the pattern of naval power which developed in East Asia was quite different. Initially, neither the Chinese nor the Japanese had any sense of using the sea for warlike purposes. All of this began to change on the mainland of China in late Sung times when, as Professor Lo has so well pointed out, naval power became the chief element used by the Southern Sungs to defend their realm south of the Wei River from the aggressive Chins and Mongols to the north—defenses which allowed them to survive until 1279 when they were finally overwhelmed by the forces of Kublai Khan, and which saw them employ armored warships using rockets and much else of an advanced military nature.[28]

Then, with some naval forces he had organized and contingents of the defeated Sung navy, this great Mongol Emperor launched two unsuccessful maritime expeditions against Japan as well as one which operated with some success as far south as Java. Perhaps the fleet he used to send Marco Polo to the Persian Gulf was in the nature of a naval scouting or reconnaissance mission in force.[29]

Whatever Kublai Khan's naval hopes and plans were, they did not survive his death and the fleet he had maintained was allowed to disappear. Only once thereafter did Chinese rulers take to the sea in force,

23. C. Cipolla, *Guns, Sails and Empires, 1400-1700. Phases in European Expansion* (London, 1965), pp. 1-87.

24. Lewis, *Naval Power*, pp. 212-60.

25. Hess, *The Forgotten Frontier*, pp. 86ff; and J. F. Guilmartin, Jr., *Gunpowder and Galleys* (Cambridge, 1975).

26. R. Sergeant, *The Portuguese off the South Arabian Coast* (Oxford, 1963); M. Meilink-Roelofsz, *Asian Trade and European Influence in the Indonesian Archipeligo, 1500-1630* (The Hague, 1962); and C. Boxer, *The Portuguese Seaborne Empire* (London, 1962), pp. 21-174.

27. Lewis, *Les marchands dans l'Océan Indien*, pp. 468-70.

28. Jung-Pang Lo, 'Maritime Commerce and Its Relation to the Sung Navy,' *Journal of Economic and Social History of the Orient*, 12 (1972).

29. Jung-Pang Lo, 'The Emergence of China as a Seapower during the late Sung and early Yuan Periods,' *Far Eastern Quarterly*, 14 (1954-1955).

when, as has been noted, an early Ming Emperor built a series of fleets which made Malacca a base from which they launched a number of expeditions throughout the Indian Ocean. But the records of these expeditions which have come down to us raise the serious question as to whether or not they were organized for war and thus were truly naval in the Western European sense of the word. For we have no evidence that these fleets, unlike those of the Sung, were heavily armored or that their crews were trained for battle or that they took any really aggressive action in the course of their voyages. They seem more diplomatic than military in purpose and, however we assess this period of early Ming maritime activity, it is important to note that it was the last effort made on the sea by a Chinese government until relatively modern times.[30]

There was, however, one last flicker of naval power in East Asia after this time—one which was inaugurated by Japan. The Japanese had been slow to develop an interest in war at sea even though the decisive battles which took place during the twelfth century between the Taira and Minamoto clans, which produced the first Japanese Shogunate, took place on the Island Sea at places like Danoura.[31] From that time on, however, we have no record of similar naval battles when Daimyo families struggled for mastery during Hojo and Ashikaga times. This seems to have changed by the fifteenth and even more so in the late sixteenth century when, perhaps influenced in part by the Portuguese example, the brutal warlord Hideyoshi mustered large fleets and attempted to conquer Korea—Japan's first attempt at overseas conquest in her history.[32] Though Ieyasu continued to support an active maritime oceanic establishment, it disappeared when his successor Tokugawa shoguns ended all dreams of naval expansion abroad and cut off their people from the outside world—a situation which left Western Europeans for more than two centuries as supreme in Pacific waters off Japan as they already were off China.[33] After a brief moment of naval and oceanic glory, Japan like China faded from the world naval scene.

Let us now turn our attention from the technological and naval side of oceanic power to the economic. When we do and consider Western Europe during medieval times, we should note that these years saw a steady increase in the volume of traffic handled by sea in the Mediterranean, especially by the time of the Crusades. This traffic consisted in part of passengers going on crusade and pilgrimage, but mainly of bulk cargos of salt, grain, timber, metals, wool, wine, and olive oil carried in large seasonal convoys of ships from one part of the Middle Sea to another.[34] After 1300 we can add cotton to this list and alum as well. There was an especially significant increase which took place in the late thirteenth century when Italian, Catalan, and Provençal ships took over from their Byzantine and Arab rivals and when use of the compass and *portolan* chart made possible twice as many round trips per year as had earlier been the case.[35]

In the Northern Seas of Europe the same thing happened a little later on, but here too by the thirteenth century we find wine, wheat, wool, fish, furs, timber, salt, and metals moving by sea in larger and larger ships which formed great seasonal convoys, like those of the Bordeaux wine fleet that sailed to Britain or the Hansa flotillas which carried grain, timber, naval stores, and fish to Bruges and London and beyond and returned to the Baltic with salt, cloth, metals, and a variety of other wares. And by the fourteenth century, the Mediterranean and the Atlantic world of Europe had begun to be linked together by Italian and Catalan galleys and *carracks* which passed through the Straits of Gibraltar and reached Southampton and Bruges after stopping in Seville and Lisbon. The foundation of a bulk trade in commodities which was to move across the Atlantic was already in place by the later Middle Ages.[36]

And long before the New World was settled, the sugar plantation with its intensive use of slave labor had been invented by the Genoese in thirteenth-century Cyprus, Crete, and Sicily and spread to Southern

30. Needham, op. cit., pp. 487-535; and E. Reischauer and J. Fairbank, *East Asia, the Great Tradition*, I (Boston, 1960), pp. 325-29.

31. A. R. Lewis, *Knights and Samurai. Feudalism in Northern France and Japan* (London, 1974), p. 37.

32. W. Denny, *The Life of Toyotoma Hideyoshi*, 3rd ed. (New York, 1980).

33. T. Tsukahura, op. cit.

34. R. S. Lopez, *The Birth of Europe* (New York, 1967), pp. 101-314, and *The Commercial Revolution of the Middle Ages* (Englewood Cliffs, N.J., 1971); and F. Braudel, *The Wheels of Commerce*, trans. S. Reynolds (New York, 1983).

35. F. Lane, 'The Economic Meaning of the Invention of the Compass,' *American Historical Review*, 68 (1963).

36. Unger, op. cit., pp. 119-223; and Lewis, *Northern Seas*, pp. 455-89.

Spain and Portugal and later on to offshore islands like Madeira.[37] Equally important was the ranch which was invented in Southern Spain during the same period and which was to move across the Atlantic to change the economic pattern of the Americas and the cargos they could produce for active traders.

As the volume of trade increased, so did efficient methods of handling it. By the twelfth century or even earlier, the Italians had begun to develop various kinds of *commenda* sea contracts and a bit later organized capitalistic joint stock companies, as well as systems of marine insurance which cut down on risks at sea. And in these same circles modern banking was born and spread, first to Catalonia and Southern France and then north to Britain, France, and the Low Countries. Bills of exchange, double-entry bookkeeping, and much else became the order of the day and a manual like that which Pegolotti compiled in the early fourteenth century could note the value of currencies and the cost of commodities all the way from the Black Sea and the Mediterranean to China and India.[38] Long before Columbus sailed, an oceanic commerce in bulk cargos had made its appearance along the entire litoral of Western Europe along with the financial means of handling it, as well as certain new economic institutions like the plantation and the ranch.

As Goitein has shown, for some three centuries between 950 and 1250, the Arabs of the Mediterranean shared in this trade in bulk commodities that traveled from east to west in great seasonal convoys.[39] After that date, however, they lost control of this traffic to their Latin rivals. And they did not recover it in early modern times except in parts of the Aegean-Black Sea complex where Greek seamen began to flourish in the shadow of Ottoman sea power.

In the Indian Ocean, however, Islamic traders were more fortunate, at least until 1500. Here they shared with their Indic rivals in a lucrative bulk commerce in timber, rice, salt, metals, horses, and in luxury wares like cottons, silks, spices, and slaves which traveled along monsoon routes in seasonal convoys.[40] In general, these Arab traders seem to have made use of *dhows* in this trade rather than the large *capels* or junks of India and Indonesia. And once the Portuguese arrived on the scene, they tended to lose the cream of this traffic to the new European invaders and to find themselves confined to a subordinate or coastal trade as far south as Mozambique and in the waters of the Persian Gulf and the Red Sea. Their major oceanic trading role here, as in the Mediterranean even earlier, had come to an end.[41]

Equally important is the failure of the Islamic world to move toward an advanced system of marine capitalism similar to that which developed in the Latin West. As the Geniza documentation of Egypt makes clear and the records of the later Karimbi spice merchants reiterate, the Islamic business community never advanced beyond the *commenda*-type partnership in trade to develop financial instruments like the joint stock company or marine insurance or real banking or double-entry bookkeeping. The result, even in the Ottoman world of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, was an inability to finance and operate an oceanic economy even if they had been able to develop one. By early modern times, as Charles Issawi has shown, the Islamic world was economically hopelessly behind.[42]

When we turn our attention to the Indic world, we find a somewhat different picture. If there was one other part of the world except Western Europe in which large-scale bulk commerce in large convoyed ships traveled over vast distances, it was in the Indian Ocean, especially that which originated in Gujerat in West India or along Bengal and the Chola coasts to the east. And by the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, this commerce had made Malacca a prosperous international entrepot where foreign merchants from the entire Indian Ocean and Indonesian areas and from China as well arrived to do business. These merchants were organized into four great associations of foreign merchants, like the German Hansa, and had extensive privileges as they handled porcelains and silks from China; spices from the Celebes, Sumatra, Borneo, and Java; rice and teak from Burma; and metals, horses, elephants, and textiles from East

37. Lewis, *The Medieval Background of American Atlantic Maritime Development*, pp. 30-31.

38. Ibid., pp. 36-37.

39. For the best survey, see Goitein, op. cit., I.

40. S. Goitein, 'From the Mediterranean to India,' *Speculum*, 29 (1954); and 'New Light on the Beginnings of the Karim Merchants,' *Journal of Economic and Social History of the Orient*, 2 (1958). See also J. Fischel, 'The Spice Trade in Mamluk Egypt,' ibid., 11 (1968).

41. The process is best described in Meilink-Roelofsz, *Asian Trade and European Influence in the Indonesian Peninsula*.

42. C. Issawi, 'The Decline in Middle Eastern Trade,' in *Islam and the Trade of Asia*, ed. D. Richards (Oxford, 1970), pp. 246-59.

Africa, India, and the Arabic world to the west.[43]

There is no evidence, however, that this flourishing international group of traders ever developed anything like Italian advanced business practices to handle this lucrative commerce. Instead, they remained wedded, like their Islamic neighbors, to the family and *commenda*-type partnership. And this is one reason why they were so easily ousted from control of much of this commerce by the Portuguese and other Westerners who arrived on the scene in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. But something remained for them to handle, and they continued to traffic along the seaways in small ships—a traffic which Parkinson has called the 'country trade'—and made sufficient profits in doing so that they were able to lay the foundations of the fortunes of Bombay Parsi merchants or those Chinese capitalists who still flourish in Singapore, Bangkok, and Jakarta.[44]

Finally, we have the curious case of East Asia and her failure to develop an oceanic economy during the Middle Ages and early modern times. How can we explain that failure? First, let us consider China. Here, as has been pointed out, the Chinese during Sung and Yuan times developed both an advanced oceanic capacity and considerable naval muscle of their own. Curiously enough, however, during these same years they never moved much bulk cargo on the sea, relying instead on their superb internal canals and waterways. What they exported were essentially luxury goods, except perhaps for rice from Siam in some periods, and what they imported were spices and tropical exotics instead of the foodstuffs, timber, metals, and salt which were the staples elsewhere in the world. And as is well known, much of this pattern of trade was to continue right into the nineteenth century as American traders in Chinese treaty ports discovered again and again.[45] And neither nearby Korea, Amnam, or Japan needed Chinese bulk imports either. So a real basic oceanic commerce never developed in this part of the world.

Even more interesting is the case of Japan. From earliest times the Japanese used the Inland Sea to move bulk products between their island ports and in Kyushu developed centers like Nagasaki which traded with Korea and China. But until the sixteenth century their cargo junks were small in size and little traffic in bulk oceanic cargos ever developed, the closest thing to such commerce being an illegal trade in swords and copper and other such products to Ming China during the late sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries. And it is no doubt significant that even during these years the Japanese never exploited the abundant resources in fish, furs, and timber which lay to the north all the way from Hokkaido to the Aleutians and the shores of North America or across the Pacific via Micronesia and Polynesia. They let the Spanish from Mexico have a free hand with the latter and did nothing until the Russians at the time of Catherine the Great began to exploit the former. Japan even under Hideyoshi and Ieyasu remained strangely non-oceanic in its basic economy and its economic objectives.[46]

As for the financial bases of an oceanic capacity, at first the Chinese seemed to have done rather well in developing systems like those of Medieval Europe since they quite early had managed to create relatively sophisticated systems of credit and paper money as well. By Mongol times they even had an *ortag* organization which resembled the joint stock company as a medium for capitalistic investment. Unfortunately, much of this financial organization and the *ortags*, in particular, did not survive the Ming takeover in 1368, for these rulers proved to be so pro-Confucian, anti-foreign, and anti-urban that they stopped all this in their tracks.[47] Chinese leaving for Southeast Asia might carry with them advanced business acumen and a capitalistic zeal for profits, but their activities now only affected their homeland peripherally.[48]

In Japan much the same kind of thing happened. In Muromachi times, the Japanese saw the development of a powerful class of middle-class merchants and some advanced credit instruments, only to have shoguns like

43. W. Moreland, 'The Shabanar in the Eastern Seas,' *Journal of the Royal Historical Society* (1920); and Meilink-Roelofsz, 'Islam and Trade in the Malay-Indonesian Archipelago,' in *Islam and the Trade of Asia*, pp. 149-55.

44. A. Das Gupta, 'Trade and Politics in 18th Century India,' in ibid., pp. 180-93.

45. See C. Simkins, *The Traditional Trade of China* (Oxford, 1968), for this pattern of commerce.

46. On the insular pattern of the economy of Japan during this period, see C. D. Sheldon, *The Rise of the Merchant Class in Tokugawa Japan, 1600-1868* (Augustin, 1958); and F. B. Gibney, 'The Marks of a Japanese Merchant,' in *Kanban Shop Signs of Japan* (Kyoto, 1983), pp. 11-26; and C. R. Boxer, *The Christian Century in Japan* (Berkeley, 1951).

47. Needham, op. cit., pp. 524-35; and E. Reischauer and J. Fairbank, op. cit., pp. 325-28.

48. Lewis, *Maritime Skills in the Indian Ocean*, p. 263.

Hideyoshi and Ieyasu and their successors stop much of this economic progress, disarm the peasantry and the middle class, and turn Japan over to a warrior class of *samurai* and *daimyos* whose interests were essentially rural and who controlled the land of the Rising Sun until the days of the Meiji Restoration.[49] Even more decisively than the Indic world, the East Asian world failed to develop an oceanic economy during the years we are examining.

The most decisive element in Western Europe's overseas success and the principal reason its potential oceanic rivals failed, however, lies in the area of governmental control of overseas territory—something essential to any oceanic system. The ability to maintain control over lands which lay overseas began to manifest itself quite early in European medieval history. In the Mediterranean its first manifestation was in the maritime empire of Byzantium after Justinian had reconquered Italy, North Africa, and other western territory and established overseas viceroys or *exarchs* to govern them.[50] Though some of this western territory was lost to the Arabs in the eighth and ninth centuries, Byzantium's control of parts of Italy lasted down until the end of the eleventh century.

Then Western Europe created its own overseas governments in Syria and Palestine as a result of the First Crusade—a dominion that was to last for some two centuries.[51] It was followed by overseas control of parts of the Byzantine Empire in Frankish Greece and Cyprus which were the result of the Third and Fourth Crusades.[52] And as part of this expansion, the Venetians were able to create their own unusual commercial and naval empire in Crete, the Aegean, and parts of Romania which was to last down to the eighteenth century.[53] And this was matched, in part, by Genoese overseas colonies in the Black Sea, the Aegean, and at Pera, just opposite Constantinople, and by the curious Catalan principality that was established in Athens and Thebes.[54]

All this overseas expansion and control of much of the Eastern Mediterranean had its counterpart in the West also. Here, after an ephemeral Norman control over North African ports established by King Roger II,[55] Jaume of Aragon and his heirs managed to establish an Aragonese overseas empire in the Western Mediterranean that lasted down into the eighteenth century.[56] And the Portuguese from 1415 on also were able for more than a century to establish a similar dominion over Moroccan shores, as a recent book by Andrew Hess has made clear.[57]

Such overseas dominion was also found quite early in Northern Europe. Perhaps the first example was the late ninth- and early tenth-century Viking kingdom of Dublin and York, which was followed by Canute's better-known maritime empire that included both England and most of Scandinavia.[58] Even better known is the essentially maritime empire which William the Conqueror established by conquering England in 1066 and which his royal successors maintained in the British Isles and parts of the French mainland for some four centuries until it disappeared in 1452.[59]

And this English overseas success was matched by Baltic expansion to the east on the part of the twelfth- and thirteenth-century monarchs of Denmark and Sweden and their allies, the Teutonic Knights of Livonia—one which created an overseas empire which lasted down to the end of the sixteenth century and then became the Swedish dominions of the Vasas in the Baltic.[60] Especially significant in these same waters was the commercial dominion of the Hanseatic League

49. P. Duus, *Feudalism in Japan* (New York, 1969), pp. 84ff; and Lewis, *Knights and Samurai*, pp. 77-79.

50. Lewis, *Naval Power and Trade*, pp. 28-56; and 'Byzantium as an Integral Part of European Christendom, 568-1204,' in *The Sea and Medieval Civilizations*, pp. 1-4.

51. S. Runciman, *History of the Crusades*, I-II (Cambridge, 1951) for the fullest account.

52. A. Bon, *La Morée franque* (Paris, 1969); and D. Jacoby, *La féodalité en Grece mediévale* (Paris, 1971).

53. F. Lane, *Venice, a Maritime Republic* (Baltimore, 1966); F. Thiriet, *La Romanie venetienne au moyen-âge* (Paris, 1959); and D. Chambers, *The Imperial Age of Venice, 1380-1580* (London, 1970).

54. G. Bratianu, *Recherches sur le commerce Genois dans la Mer Noir* (Paris, 1929); and K. M. Setton, *Catalan Domination of Athens 1311-1388* (London, 1975).

55. E. Jamison, *Admiral Eugenius of Sicily* (London, 1957).

56. C. Dufourcq, *L'Espagne Catalane et le Magreb aux xiii^e et xiv^e siècles* (Paris, 1966); J. N. Hillgarth, *The Problem of a Catalan Mediterranean Empire, 1229-1327*, in suppl. 8, *English Historical Review* (London, 1975), and *The Spanish Kingdoms, 1250-1516*, 2 vols. (Oxford, 1976-1978).

57. Hess, *The Forgotten Frontier*, pp. 1-97.

58. Lewis, *Northern Seas*, pp. 94ff.

59. No single volume views England as a maritime empire from A.D. 1066-1452. However, for the height of its maritime power during the reign of Edward III, see H. Hewitt, *The Organization of War under Edward III, 1338-1362* (Manchester, 1966).

60. For a full account of this hegemony, see W. Urban, *The Prussian Crusade* (Lantham, Md., 1980), as well as his *Baltic Crusade* and *Livonian Crusade* referred to in note 21.

which lasted from the thirteenth to the seventeenth century.[61]

What seems particularly interesting about these examples of overseas dominion and control of territory besides the length of time they endured is the many kinds of dominion they exemplify. Some overseas territory was ruled by viceroys who in some cases were members of a single royal family and some who had no such connection with the home country—England's medieval maritime empire being a case in point. Some were loose family aggregations like those of the Aragonese in the later Middle Ages. Some were part of a church control over crusading orders and rulers like the Kings of Jerusalem or the domains of the Teutonic Knights in the Baltic. Some, like the Venetian Empire or that of the Hansa, were mainly though not exclusively commercial. Some, like Genoese possessions in the Black Sea, were ruled by a chartered company of the City of Genoa. Some, like Catalan Athens or the Morea in the fifteenth century, were controlled by organized mercenary adventurers. As they moved out into the wider world overseas, then, Western Europeans had at their disposal an immense number of models which they could and did draw upon.

Their potential oceanic rivals had no such store of experience. Let us first consider the Islamic world. Only briefly during the late tenth and early eleventh centuries do we find any true overseas empires in the Arab Western Mediterranean—that of the Fatimids of Egypt and North Africa and that of the Ommayids of Spain and Morocco—and they each lasted for only a few decades before the viceroys they had established made themselves independent.[62] Again briefly, a little later on, Morocco and Andalusia shared a common maritime destiny when they were ruled by first the Almoravids and then the Almohads from twin capitals in Marrakesh and Seville.[63] That is all we find until the Ottomans established control over Tripoli, Tunis, and Algeria in the sixteenth century—a control that was only to last until the early seventeenth century, when their viceroys made themselves for all practical purposes independent of Istanbul.[64] Elsewhere, even such ephemeral overseas dominions never appeared in the Islamic world until the years of the nineteenth century with the Sultanate of Oman and Zanzibar. The Islamic world, despite a few efforts, then, never devised ways of keeping overseas colonies linked with the home country for any appreciable time.

Even more of a failure can be seen from an analysis of the history of Indic civilization during these years. Here, except the already noted case of the eleventh-century Cholas, overseas dominion never seems to appear.[65] Hence, by the late Middle Ages the two major powers in the Indian subcontinent, Vijayanagar and the Sultanate of Delhi, never showed any interest in the overseas territories with which their merchants were trading. And they passed this tradition on to the powerful Moghul Emperors who succeeded them in the Indian subcontinent.[66]

An equal lack of effective political control over areas linked by the sea is noticeable even on a local level along Sumatran, Malayan, and West Javanese shores controlled for centuries by the Shrivijayan rulers of Palembang and their successors, the Sultans of Malacca, as well as by the Kediri and Singosari monarchs of eastern Java. Our scanty evidence seems to show that, although they controlled vital straits leading through these islands, they never really had authority over the numerous rajahs and chiefs who were to be found along these coasts. And this, interestingly enough, is exactly how the situation remained as late as the early nineteenth century when Salem merchants sailed along these shores to purchase pepper.[67]

Indeed, the only kind of overseas international control that one finds in Indian Ocean or Indonesian areas, either Islamic or Indic, during these years was that exercised by *reis* or heads of merchant groups settled in the main ports—especially in the great international entrepot of Malacca. These *kings* of merchant associations, however, seem much more like the consuls of Catalan Italian or Provençal merchants one finds in the *fonduks* of major Islamic ports than true overseas governors. And like the latter who lasted on to become

61. P. Dollinger, *La Hanse* (Paris, 1954), pp. 1-208.

62. Lewis, *Naval Power and Trade*, pp. 132-82; and E. Provençale, *L'Espagne musulmane au x^e siècle* (Paris, 1932).

63. R. Letourneau, *The Almohad Movement in North Africa in the Twelfth and Thirteenth Centuries* (Princeton, 1969), esp. pp. 34-128.

64. Hess, *The Forgotten Frontier*, pp. 86ff.

65. B. Stein, 'Coromandel Trade in Medieval India,' in *Merchants and Scholars*, ed. J. Parker (Minneapolis, 1965). For background, see his *Peasant, State and Society in South India* (New York, 1980).

66. Nilakanta Shasti, *A History of South India* (Madras, 1958), pp. 215-325; A. Srivantas, *The Sultanate of Delhi, 711-1526* (Agra, 1958); and T. Mahalingam, *Economic Life in the Vijayanagar Empire* (Madras, 1951).

67. Lewis, *Maritime Skills in the Indian Ocean*, pp. 262-64.

the controllers of foreigners in the Ottoman Empire, they were to continue down into early modern times.[68]

The East Asian area represents still another kind of problem as far as overseas political control is concerned. During Tang and Sung times, the Chinese emperor dealt with his land and maritime neighbors by demanding that they recognize his authority over them by regular tribute sent to his court by formal embassies. And most of the maritime areas nearby, like Srivijaya, Java, Champa, and Japan, obliged and their arrival in China is carefully set down year by year in the official Tang and Sung histories. It should be readily apparent, however, that, however gratifying such tribute was to the ego of the Son of Heaven, it did not really establish any Chinese overseas control over foreign realms. In practical terms, it merely established a right to mutual trade. And when Kublai Khan, as ruler of China, attempted to exercise something more through the sending out of naval expeditions to attack Japan, Champa, and Java, he was able to be effective only in the latter case.

Under the Mings the situation continued relatively unchanged. As already noted, the Mings established a large fleet in Malacca early in the fifteenth century and for years paraded squadrons throughout the Indian Ocean. These squadrons seem to have induced a number of sovereigns to send tribute to the Son of Heaven in Peking, but no permanent overseas colonies resulted from all this effort, even in Malacca after the Chinese withdrew their fleets and returned to home ports.[69]

And this seems especially significant because this was just the period when a number of Chinese from the Fukien and Kwangtung coastal areas were beginning to settle overseas in Formosa, the Philippines, Vietnam, and Indonesia and even Mexico by the sixteenth century and when overseas control over them would seem to have been a distinct Chinese possibility. The case of Formosa is especially significant because not only did the Mings establish no firm control over the island itself but neither at first did their Manchu successors, who allowed it to fall under the control of the fleet of Koxinga who controlled it for many decades. And when it was at last conquered by a Ching fleet in 1673, it never was fully integrated into the China of the mainland.[70] The Chinese then never did develop a method of effective political control over nearby overseas areas and passed on this failure to their successors.

The Japanese in this respect were equally backward when we compare them with their European contemporaries. While it is true that they never accepted the Yuan Dynasty of China as their overlords and defended themselves successfully against Mongol fleets, they lacked an overseas political program of their own. At least one Ashikaga Shogun, Yoritomo, seems to have claimed some overlordship over Okinawa and the Ryukyus, but he was the exception to the rule, and even Hokkaido to the north seems to have been left pretty much to its native Ainu inhabitants. And as for Hideyoshi's attempt to seize Korea, as has been noted, it had no permanent results. Japan, cut off from the outside world by the express policies of its rulers, had to wait for the late nineteenth century before it could begin to think in terms of overseas possessions.[71]

Western Europe's and America's success, then, as the only viable oceanic power in early modern times, was neither an accident nor a sudden event in the historical process. Rather, it was the direct result of its medieval progress in marine technology, in warlike naval capacities and experience, in an advanced economy as it affected marine matters, and above all in its long experience with a number of forms of overseas political controls. Its sister civilizations, though they made progress at times in some of these areas, never were able to organize themselves so as to take advantage of all that overseas expansion demanded and, thus, by the time of Columbus and Vasco da Gama had ceded leadership to Western Europe by default.

Yet, even then, the degree to which the medieval Islamic, Indic, and East Asian peoples developed oceanic capacities of their own had some long-range significance for Western Europeans and Americans. Quite early, Western Europe borrowed from the Islamic world of the Mediterranean both their business partnership principles and their system of great sea-

68. Lewis, *Les marchands dans l'ocean indien*, pp. 470-75.

69. Wang Gungwan, 'The Opening of Relations between China and Malacca, 1403-1405,' in *Malayan and Indonesian Studies* (Oxford, 1965); and J. Duyvendak, *China's Discovery of Africa* (London, 1949); C. R. Boxer, *South China in the Sixteenth Century* (London, 1932).

70. See P. K. T. Sih, *Taiwan in Modern Times* (New York, 1971), pp. 21-29; and O. H. K. Spate, *Monopolists and Freebooters* (Minneapolis, 1982), pp. 78-87.

71. R. Sakai, 'The Ruyukyu Islands as a Fief of Satsuma,' in *The Chinese World Order*, ed. J. Fairbank (Cambridge, Mass., 1969).

sonal convoys. This latter was used by the Venetians, Genoese, and Catalans in the Mediterranean and by merchants in Northern European waters as well. And then these convoys were employed by the Spanish in their great plate fleets and by the Portuguese, Dutch, English, and French in trading with the Indian Ocean area.[72]

Islam's brief thrust into the Atlantic off the coast of West Africa was also helped with what the Catalans, Italians, and Portuguese were to accomplish there during the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries. Even the Portuguese *caravel*, some experts believe, was partly derived from an Arab Atlantic prototype.

As for the Indic world and its associated Islamic world of the Indian Ocean, it was the trade, the sea routes, and the ports developed by native mariners and traders which allowed the Portuguese and then the Dutch to take over so easily—almost piggybacking on what Easterners had already accomplished. And it is no accident that Aden and Ormuz almost at once became so vital to Europeans in these warm tropical seas, or that Bombay, Madras, and Calcutta emerged as the more modern heirs of the Gujerati, the Cholas, or the Bengali merchants. Equally striking is the continuity between Palembang and Malacca and later Singapore and Djakarta.

As for the Chinese and the Japanese in East Asia, though they abandoned an oceanic destiny, as has been noted, what they created lasted on into more modern times. It is significant, for instance, that Canton, Amoy, and ports on the lower Yangtse where Sung, Yuan, and Ming overseas commerce centered continued to play a vital role later on and became the main treaty ports taken over by Westerners and used to control China's external trade. Similarly, it was at Nagasaki, Japan's old port for the trade with China, that the Dutch were allowed to settle and provide Japan's only link with the wider world for some centuries. It was ports which had developed out of the oceanic experience of its rivals, then, which allowed Western Europeans to follow an oceanic destiny which was especially all-encompassing in modern times. And to understand this is to understand what the opportunities and challenges of an oceanic destiny still represent in the closing years of the twentieth century.

72. Lewis, *The Medieval Background*, pp. 38-39; and C. H. Haring, *Trade and Navigation between Spain and the Indies* (New York, 1964); and O. H. K. Spate, *The Spanish Lake* (Minneapolis, 1979).

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China Sojourn: A Brief Account of Commander Bushrod B. Taylor's Tour of Duty

JOHN QUENTIN FULLER

IN the July 1983 issue of *The American Neptune,* I published an article entitled 'The White House "Rose Medallion": Daniel Ammen and the Ulysses S. Grant Porcelain,' in which I discussed the role played by Captain Ammen (1820-1898), who was assigned to the Asiatic Squadron between 1867 and 1869, in ordering a number of China trade articles including two dinner services in the popular Rose Medallion pattern. The sets—one for himself with the initial 'A' and the other for General and Mrs. Grant with the initials *USG*—were completed at Canton in the fall of 1868 and shipped to the United States through Olyphant and Co., China traders.[1] These closely related, fully documented services provided a glimpse of the so-called private trade in which American naval officers apparently engaged during the pre- and post-Civil War decades. They also have helped resolve in part the matter of dating Medallion porcelain. As my article was going to press, I became aware of another documented dinner set in this pattern associated with Commander Bushrod B. Taylor (1832-1883), to which I was able to add only the briefest reference; and since then three other Medallion services with an Asiatic Squadron provenance have come to my attention. This then is the story of Commander Taylor's China years and of his interesting and informative purchases.

On 14 April 1869, Commander Bushrod Bennett Taylor, U.S.N., received orders to take passage in a Pacific Mail Steamer (hereafter, P.M.S.S.) for the Asiatic Squadron and to take command of the store ship *Idaho*. Three weeks later on 5 May, Taylor bid farewell to his wife, Amelia Adeline—known in the family as 'Minnie'—and their ten-year-old son, Bushrod Wilber, leaving his handsome home in Madison, Indiana, for New York City. A two-year adventure in the Far East was about to begin.

Commander Taylor was born at Madison on 31 May 1832.[2] He joined the navy as an acting midshipman on 3 April 1849 and, through the good offices of Senator Jesse D. Bright, received an appointment to the Naval Academy. He did not graduate until six years later, having thrice been assigned sea duty and detached briefly for sick leave near the end of 1854. His midshipman's papers were signed by Presidents Zachary Taylor (8 May 1850) and Franklin Pierce (13 June 1855). While on leave in the spring of 1858, Lieutenant Taylor returned to Jefferson County, Indiana, where he married Amelia Adeline Wilber (1839-1934) on 2 June. They settled down in a beautiful classical revival style mansion which had been in the Wilber family. Eight months after the wedding, on 13 February 1859, a son christened Bushrod Wilber was born, his father at sea aboard *Release*. There were no other children.

After several additional tours of duty, Lieutenant Taylor was ordered to the Naval Academy as an instructor and was there when the facility was removed from Annapolis, Maryland, to Newport, Rhode Island, with the outbreak of the Civil War. During the four-year conflict, Taylor saw active duty on the ships *Connecticut* and *Cimmerone*. Following his promotion to lieutenant commander by President Lincoln on 23 February 1863, he was assigned first to *Ticonderoga*, flagship of the West India Squadron, and then received

1. *The American Neptune*, vol. XLIII, no. 3 (July 1983), 177-85. Examples from the Ammen and Grant services are illustrated in my 'Canton *famille rose* porcelain Part I: Rose Medallion,' *The Magazine ANTIQUES* (October 1983), pp. 749, 753, as well as in my *Chinese Export Porcelain in the 19th century: The Canton Famille Rose Porcelains* (Salem, Mass., Peabody Museum of Salem, 1982), p. 24.

2. A brief biography of Taylor appears in James Grant Wilson and John Fiske (eds.), *Appletons' Cyclopaedia of American Biography*, 6 vols. (New York, 1889), VI, 42. Additional information was provided by Mrs. Bushrod W. Taylor, Jr., of Louisville, Ky.

(*Left*) Bushrod Bennett Taylor (1832-1883), U.S. naval officer assigned to the Asiatic Squadron between 1869 and 1871. (*Right*) Amelia Adeline 'Minnie' Wilber (1839-1934), of Madison, Indiana, who married Lieutenant Taylor in 1858. Courtesy of Mrs. Bushrod W. Taylor, Jr. (Copy photos by Mark Sexton.)

The Taylor home in Madison, Indiana, circa 1870. Courtesy of the author. (Copy photo by Mark Sexton.)

command of his own ship, *Kanawha,* in the Western Gulf Squadron, where he remained until the end of the War Between the States. After an eight-month assignment to the Philadelphia Navy Yard, Taylor was ordered to the Naval Academy where he again served as an instructor and during which period he was commissioned commander by President Johnson on 24 March 1868. He left Annapolis on 22 March 1869, following his detachment, and returned home briefly to Madison where he received orders to command *Idaho* of the Asiatic Squadron.

Commander Taylor followed a circuitous route to his new assignment, going to New York where he boarded *P.M.S.S. Alaska* for Aspinwall (now Colon, Panama), crossing the Isthmus by train, and then sailing from Panama City to Acapulco.[3] After his arrival at San Francisco, Taylor embarked on *P.M.S.S. China* for Japan, arriving at Yokohama on 27 June. Nine days later, he assumed command of *U.S.S. Idaho* at Nagasaki. His command was short-lived, for on 21 September she encountered a severe typhoon which carried away her timbers, stanchions, and bulwarks.[4] *Idaho* was later condemned as unseaworthy and laid up at Yokohama, whereupon on 31 October Taylor was assigned to *Ashuelot,* whose command he retained until his return to the States in June 1871.

Throughout his naval career, Taylor carried with him a family bible which he used as a diary, scribbling on the fly leaves and margins brief entries that give a glimpse of his professional life.[5] For example, on 10 November 1869, Taylor wrote that *Ashuelot* 'sailed for Yeddo having the minister resident on board.' The next day, Taylor was 'presented to the Mikado.' On 4 January 1870, the ship left Nagasaki and five days later reached Shanghai. During his China sojourn, Taylor would visit Hong Kong (where he made arrangements to ship his Rose Medallion dinner set), anchoring there for more than four months. From the commander's routine entries, it would appear that the life of a naval officer assigned to the Asiatic Squadron in the late '60s and early '70s was not particularly exciting.

The boredom suffered by officers and enlisted men alike was relieved by occasional shore leave. Naval personnel assigned to the China station took advantage of their proximity to the source of the China trade and

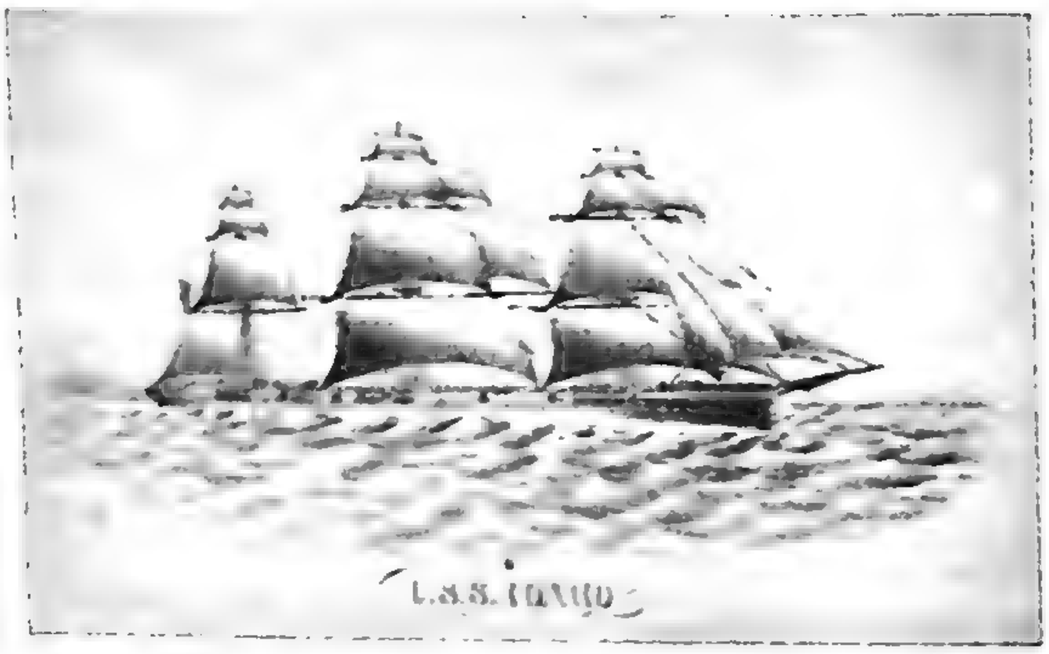
3. This information was copied from Taylor's bible-diary which is now in the possession of Mrs. Bushrod W. Taylor, Jr., who permitted me to photocopy the appropriate entries; copies have been deposited with the Registrar, Peabody Museum.

4. Taylor described the storm and its effects in a letter to his son, written from Shanghai and dated 27 January 1870, in the collection of Mrs. Bushrod W. Taylor, Jr. The typhoon which disabled the store ship *Idaho* is also mentioned in Robert Erwin Johnson, *Far China Station: The U.S. Navy in Asian Waters, 1800-1898* (Annapolis, Md.: Naval Institute Press, 1979), pp. 148-52.

5. See note 3. The bible-diary was waterlogged on 21 September 1869 during the typhoon, and a number of penciled entries are illegible.

frequently purchased souvenirs and presents.[6] For example, a few years prior to the establishment of a separate United States naval squadron in the Far East in January 1835, Master Commandant David Geisinger of the ship-rigged sloop of war *Peacock* ordered a pair of magnificent Canton famille rose punch bowls in the Mandarin pattern which he subsequently presented to Dwight Boyden of Boston's Tremont House, probably in return for the hospitality extended Geisinger and his fellow officers at the end of 1831 while they were awaiting *Peacock*'s fitting at Boston. The bowls, one of which is at the Peabody Museum and the other at Boston's Old State House, are keys to dating export porcelain in the Mandarin pattern.[7] In his autobiography, Daniel Ammen has described his first visit to China in 1846, following the ratification of the Treaty of Wanghia, when he was afforded the opportunity to visit Canton where he observed firsthand the commercial practices of the Chinese shopkeepers toward foreign customers, no longer subject to the control of the Cohong.[8] Ammen observed also that the Canton merchants charged all the traffic would bear; that is to say, 'two or three times the ordinary price paid' by an experienced trader, but bargaining was not discouraged.[9] The China, which Ammen revisited more than twenty years later and which Taylor experienced for the first time, had changed little.

Although Commander Taylor received his orders to go to the Far East as Captain Ammen was returning, another young naval officer whose career had already crossed both men's was on assignment with the Asiatic Squadron. Francis Morris (1844-1883) had studied at the Naval Academy in Annapolis and Newport where Taylor was an instructor at the outbreak of the Civil War. In 1867, he was commissioned as a lieutenant and attached for the next three years to *Piscataqua*, flagship of the Asiatic Squadron and commanded by Captain



The ill-fated store ship *U.S.S. Idaho*, Commander Taylor's first command after assignment to the Far East, disabled in a typhoon on 21 September 1869. Courtesy of Mrs. Bushrod W. Taylor, Jr. (Copy photo by Mark Sexton.)

Ammen.[10] Undoubtedly, Morris was influenced by the Ammen porcelain purchases for he too ordered a dinner service in the Rose Medallion pattern but with C-scroll rather than melon-shaped reserves. In the center medallion is the initial 'M' in gold.[11]

It is not surprising then that Commander Taylor himself acquired a number of historically significant China trade articles while assigned to the Asiatic Squadron. His surviving purchases appear to have been made between 9 January 1870, when *Ashuelot* anchored at Shanghai for the first time, and 12 May 1871, when Taylor was detached from *Ashuelot*. According to bible-diary entries, he spent a total of 68 days at Shanghai (on three different occasions), 132 days at Hong Kong, and eight and a half months at Tientsin.

The most important of Taylor's purchases was a 158-piece dinner set in the Rose Medallion pattern, each piece of which was initialed *BBT*. Representative examples from the service were presented to the Pea-

6. Cf. my 'The China Trade and the Asiatic Squadron,' *Winterthur Portfolio*, vol. 18, no. 4 (Winter 1983), 292.

7. The bowls are illustrated in Harriet Ropes Cabot, *Handbook of the Bostonian Society* (Boston: By the society, 1979), p. 87, and in my 'Canton *famille rose* porcelain, Part II: Mandarin,' *The Magazine ANTIQUES* (February 1984), p. 444.

8. Daniel Ammen, *The Old Navy and the New* (Philadelphia: J. B. Lippincott, 1891), p. 129. In my 'The White House "Rose Medallion": Daniel Ammen and the Ulysses S. Grant Porcelain,' p. 180, I have quoted Ammen at length on the problems of a naval officer making purchases at Canton in 1846, when only Pidgin English was used by the native merchants.

9. Ibid.

10. A brief biography of Francis Morris appeared in *The National Cyclopaedia of American Biography*, vol. 4, p. 418.

11. I am particularly grateful to Elizabeth Morris Smith of Newport, Rhode Island, for the information on the Morris service. Coincidentally, Mrs. Smith also has a number of pieces from two other Medallion pattern services—one in the usual rose palette and the other, quite rare, in *famille verte*—which are embellished with the initial *B* for Bailey. According to family tradition, the Rose Medallion dinner set at least was commissioned by Theodorus Bailey (1805-1877), who retired as a rear admiral in 1866, for his brother Nathaniel Platt Bailey (1809-1891). The *famille verte* set, possibly a small dessert service, may have been for the admiral's own use. Letter from Elizabeth M. Smith to the author, Newport, Rhode Island, 29 June 1984.

body Museum in the summer of 1983 by the widow of Taylor's only grandson, including three plates in different sizes, a cup and saucer, and a covered sauce or gravy tureen and underdish. The Taylor service is significant for several reasons, as I pointed out in an article in the Winter 1983 issue of *Winterthur Portfolio*.[12] The original bill of lading from Hong Kong, dated 8 July 1870, has survived, as have most of the pieces in the set. In addition, the two packing boxes—actually a pair of handsome, fitted camphor-wood chests with recessed brass handles—survive, the very existence of which demonstrates that in the age of the steamer, porcelain had lost its role as ballast for the top-heavy sailing vessels of the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries.[13]

12. 'The China Trade and the Asiatic Squadron,' pp. 298-99.

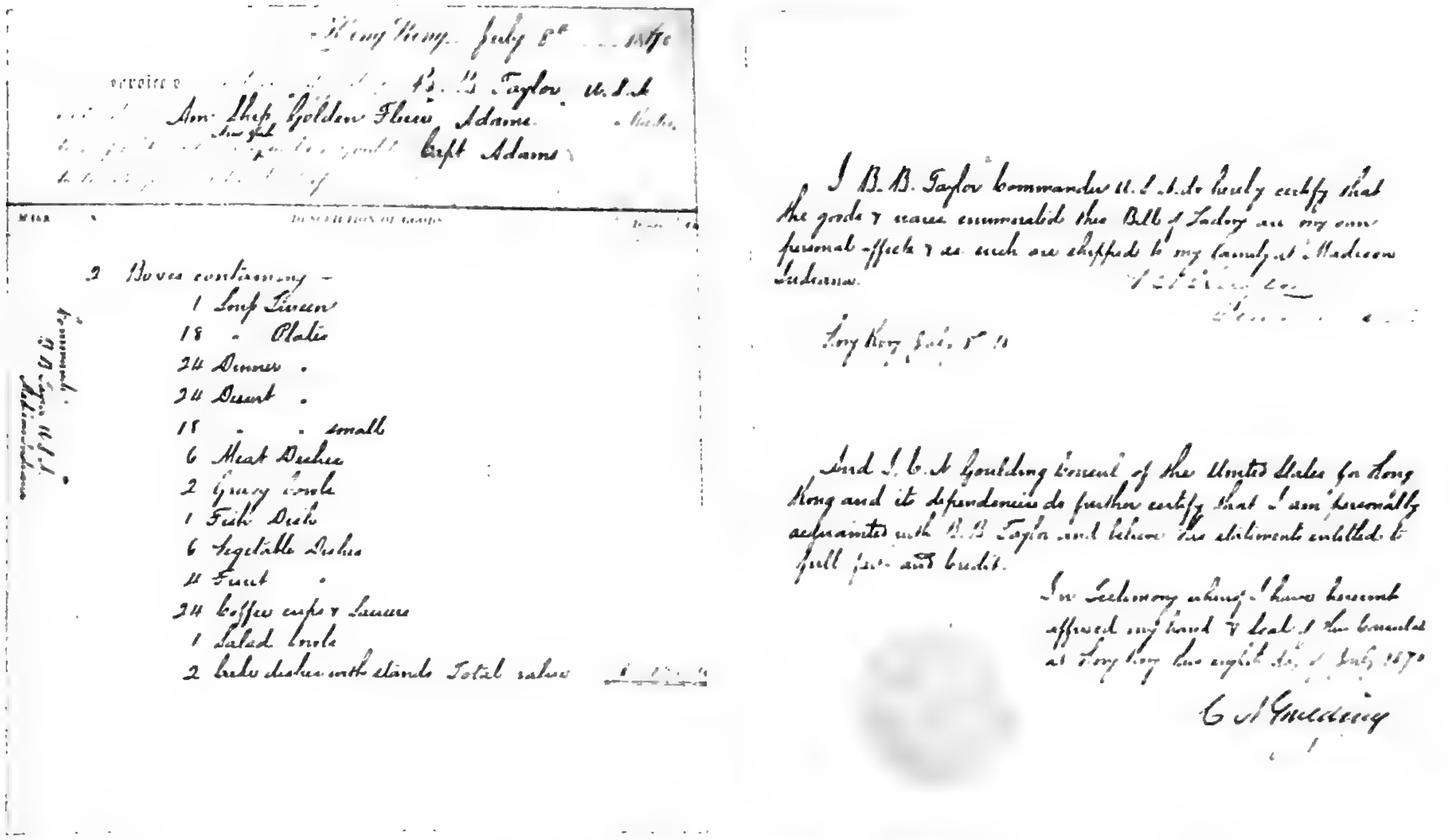
13. C. J. A. Jörg writes that in the existing literature on the China trade 'too much emphasis is sometimes placed on the function of porcelain as ballast'; cf. C. J. A. Jörg, *Porcelain and the Dutch China Trade* (The Hague: Martinus Nijhoff, 1982), p. 112.

From the bill of lading signed by Taylor, who certified that the boxes were his 'own personal effects & as such [were] shipped to [his] family at Madison Indiana,' and countersigned by the United States consul at Hong Kong, C. N. Goulding, we learn that the service for twenty-four consisted of the following:

1	soup tureen	1	fish dish
18	soup plates	6	vegetable dishes
24	dinner plates	4	fruit dishes
24	dessert plates	24	coffee cups and saucers
18	small dessert plates	1	salad bowl
6	meat dishes	2	cake dishes with stands
2	gravy bowls		

The seven meat and fish dishes are platters, and the two gravy bowls are actually sauce tureens which, like the soup tureen, have stands or underdishes. The total value for the service is given as $125, or an average

Representative pieces from Commander Taylor's 158-piece Rose Medallion dinner service shipped from Hong Kong in July 1870. Courtesy of the Peabody Museum of Salem, gift of Mrs. Bushrod W. Taylor, Jr. (Photo by Mark Sexton.)



Bill of Lading. (Photo by Mark Sexton.)

of 79¢ per piece. The cost was quite modest.[14]

The Taylor bill of lading tells us further that the two chests were shipped on the American steamer *Golden Fleece*, consigned to a Captain Adams and bound for New York via the recently opened Suez Canal. The commander's set may have been the first, or certainly one of the earliest, to be shipped by an officer attached to the Asiatic Squadron by way of the new commercial route.

The Taylor service is stylistically identical to the 1868 sets ordered by Capt. Daniel Ammen—all having melon-shaped reserves circumscribing a gold-banded center medallion. The initials *BBT* are painted in orange with golden highlights within the medallion. On the covers of the vegetable dishes and the tureens, where two medallions appear flanking the finial knob, the second medallion features a bird perched on a turquoise rock and a rose tree peony.

In addition to the dinner service, Taylor also purchased a wash set in the Medallion pattern and a number of serving pieces in the Mandarin pattern with the 'bird-in-a-lantern' border motif.[15] These pieces do not include initials. Some heavy silver flatware stamped on the undersides A·LOOK are monogrammed either *MWT* (Minnie Wilber Taylor) or *BBT* and were sent to Madison along with various pieces of furniture including a two-part desk with brass fittings in the style of a campaign chest. Portraits of Commander Taylor and his wife were also painted in China, copied almost certainly from the photographs illustrated here which depict the Taylors during the mid-1860s.[16]

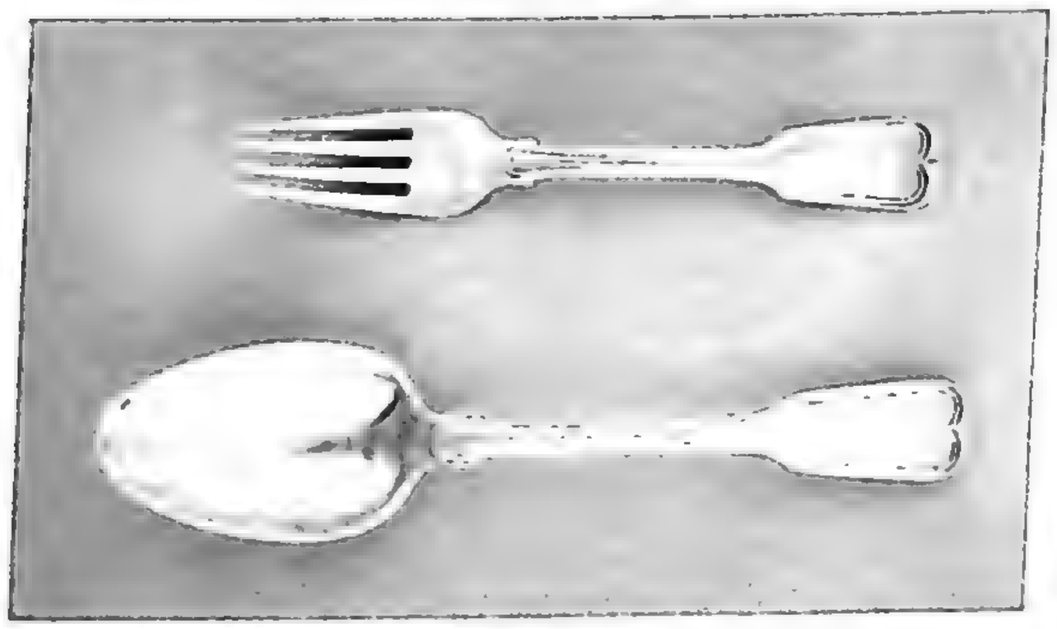
From the standpoint of rarity, the single most

14. In my own collection, a small platter in the Rose Medallion pattern, contemporary with the Taylor set, is marked in Chinese *taels* on the underside, the then equivalent of 68¢.

15. In my *The Canton Famille Rose Porcelains*, p. 43, I discussed this fairly commonplace border which consists of a bird within a lantern-shaped enclosure, together with brightly-hued pheasants, flowers, and ju-i scepters on a white ground, and sometimes with the Chinese longevity symbol *shou*. The border appears on many examples which can be dated with confidence to the 1840s and '50s; it may also have survived into the '60s, since Mandarin pattern pieces were still being sold in China.

16. I am grateful to Mrs. Bushrod W. Taylor, Jr., for this information. Copies of the photographs have been deposited with the Registrar, Peabody Museum.

remarkable item brought back from the Far East by Bushrod Taylor was a carved wooden plaque depicting a gilded American eagle with colored flags and banners above and patriotic shield below. The eagle is framed by an outer border depicting Chinese figures at various pursuits in four vignettes and flowering branches and



Chinese export silver fork monogrammed *MWT* and serving spoon monogrammed *BBT*, made by A·LOOK, part of a small service ordered by Commander Taylor between 1869 and 1871. Courtesy of the Peabody Museum of Salem, gift of Mrs. Bushrod W. Taylor, Jr. (Photo by Mark Sexton.)

an inner border of scrolling foliage. On the reverse side of the plaque is a scrap of paper in an unidentified hand reading: 'Carved at Tientsin China 1870 for Capts Dingey, while in command of *Ashuelot* 1869 to 1871.' According to Taylor's bible-diary, *Ashuelot* anchored at Tientsin on 27 July 1870 and did not sail from that Chinese port until the following 17 April. This rare carving,[17] together with examples of the silver flatware, have also been donated to the Peabody Museum.

Upon his return to the United States, Commander Taylor spent several months at Madison before his appointment in turn to the Philadelphia Navy Yard early in 1872, to the Bureau of Yards and Docks at Washington, D.C., between 1872 and 1874, and to the

Detail of Chinese export silver fork showing the stamp or touchmark of A·LOOK, the silversmith. (Photo by Mark Sexton.)

Boston Navy Yard from 1876 to 1879. On 22 April 1883, Captain Taylor died in Washington 'while attached to the *U.S.R.S. Franklin*' of cirrhosis of the liver.[18]

The brief story of Bushrod Bennett Taylor's China sojourn adds another footnote to the history of the American China trade during the third quarter of the nineteenth century. An important initialed porcelain service with bill of lading has come to light, not to mention examples of silverware with a hitherto unre-

17. The Taylor plaque is not unique, but its existence and documentation provide evidence for dating similar plaques. In Carl L. Crossman, *The China Trade. Export Paintings, Furniture, Silver and Other Objects* (Princeton: The Pyne Press, 1972), p. 198, is illustrated an almost identical plaque, which the author describes as follows: '. . . carvers worked extensively in sandalwood and native woods, making boxes and other carvings as well as fan sticks. The wooden pieces are less finely carved than those of ivory, because of the wood grains, but several magnificent examples exist. One of the most important, both for what it represents and for its quality, is an American eagle plaque. The eagle is in bas relief with a shield below and three flags above. The flags and shield and the thirteen stars around the eagle are painted red, white and blue and gilt. Above the eagle runs a banner with 'E. Pluribus Unum' on it. Around the eagle and insignia is a narrow rope border, beyond which is a carved frame of Chinese landscape and figure vignettes with flowers very reminiscent of the ivory vases. Although other eagles are known, this is the finest in quality and one of the earliest in date, circa 1815.'

18. According to Taylor's death certificate, signed by A. A. Hoehling, surgeon, U.S. Navy, the captain 'has had hoemerrhages from the stomach at intervals for the past two years; was admitted to the Medical Journal on April 12th having come to the city on leave; disease originated in line of duty from chronic malarial poisoning due to long exposure in the service. Had a violent attack of hemmorrage at date of admission, gradually regained strength; at noon of the 21st he was again seized with vomiting of blood, which occurred at intervals until 9 P.M. At 1 A.M. on the 22d Inst. had spasm about the heart, and after a few convulsive movements expired as the result of formation of heart clot.' The original 'Certificate of Death' is in the collection of Mrs. Bushrod W. Taylor, Jr.

Commander Taylor's so-called 'dingey plaque' carved at Tientsin and purchased between July 1870 and April 1871. Courtesy of the Peabody Museum of Salem, gift of Mrs. Bushrod W. Taylor, Jr. (Photo by Mark Sexton.)

corded maker's stamp. Undoubtedly, Commander Taylor acquired other trade items, like the 'dingey plaque,' which are now forgotten or lost.

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No Mistake About It: A Response to Jonathan R. Dull

WILLIAM S. DUDLEY & MICHAEL A. PALMER*

IN his provocative article 'Was the Continental Navy a Mistake?' Jonathan R. Dull exercises hindsight in judging decisions made by the Continental Congress and its Naval Committee in the midst of war and revolution. He argues that the wartime role of the Continental Navy has been exaggerated. Certainly, the maritime history of the American Revolution needs revision. At times, too much has been claimed for the Continental Navy, as in Nathan Miller's *Sea of Glory*, but surely the corrective is not to be found by embracing an opposite extreme. The author's arguments disparage the genuine accomplishments of the Continental Navy and overlook the strategic considerations facing America's revolutionary leaders.[1]

Dull begins by evoking the words of Samuel Chase, a sharp-tongued Marylander best known for voting against ratification of the Constitution and for his impeachment as a Supreme Court justice, not the best choice to represent anti-naval sentiment. In October 1775, he considered the establishment of a national navy 'the maddest idea in the whole world.' But Chase knew little about navies and based his opposition primarily on the expectation that the British Empire, denied the trade of the thirteen colonies, would be unable to afford an American war. Chase recommended halting all commerce to bring England to her knees, a vision similar to the Republican embargoes of 1807 and 1812. To Chase the alternatives seemed either to submit, or to build a national navy.[2]

The majority in Congress, unwilling to 'submit,' and doubting the financial soundness of Chase's economic arguments based upon the supposed weaknesses of Britain, began to see little alternative to building a navy. The change of heart came mostly in southern breasts, as hopes of reconciliation vanished and the Royal Navy increased its activity off the Chesapeake and the Carolinas. By the end of the year, New England advocates of a national force were joined by supporters from the middle and southern states in the establishment of the Continental Navy. On 13 December 1775, the Continental Congress authorized the construction of thirteen frigates, one of which, *Virginia*, was to be built at Baltimore. Chase, despite his earlier opposition, now participated in the building of the navy. When William Lux of the Lux and Bowly shipbuilding firm declined to manage the project, Chase eagerly took his place. Joseph Hewes, the North Carolina delegate on the Marine Committee, wrote Samuel Purviance, Jr., to express his concern at Chase's involvement:

> I should have been very glad to have had your brother put on that Service in Mr Lux's room, but the Commee in general thought it unnecessary to add another seeing two good Men had agreed to Join Mr Chase in the service, as Mr Chase is entirely unacquainted with Ship Building, I do not expect you will be much Assisted by him. . . .[3]

Despite his initial ignorance of maritime affairs and trust in economic imperatives, Chase became an active

*The views expressed by the authors, both on the staff of the U.S. Navy's Naval Historical Center, are their own and do not represent an official Navy Department position.

1. J. R. Dull, 'Was the Continental Navy a Mistake?' *The American Neptune*, XLIV (1984), 167-70; N. Miller, *Sea of Glory: The Continental Navy Fights for Independence, 1775-1783* (New York, 1974).

2. J. Adams, *Diary and Autobiography of John Adams*, L. H. Butterfield, ed., 4 vols. (Cambridge, 1981), II, pp. 198, 215-16.

3. J. Haw, F. F. Beirne, R. R. Beirne, and R. S. Jett, *Stormy Patriot: The Life of Samuel Chase* (Baltimore, 1980), pp. 52-57; H. J. Henderson, *Party Politics in the Continental Congress* (New York, 1974), pp. 58-61; and Joseph Hewes to Samuel Purviance, Jr., 29 January 1776, U.S. Navy Department, *Naval Documents of the American Revolution* (*NDAR*), W. B. Clark and W. J. Morgan, eds., 8 vols. to date (Washington, 1964—), III, p. 1038.

supporter of all efforts to confront Great Britain. In letters to John Adams, Chase showed the distance he had come: ' . . . I would exert every Nerve to fitt out a number of Vessells from 10 to 30 guns, I would cruise for the India & Jamaica Men, I would make prizes of every British vessell whenever found. I would if possible destroy the army at Boston, tho the Consequence should be the certain Destruction of the Town. . . .' En route to Canada in April 1776, Chase urged: 'In my judgment you have no alternative between Independancy and Slavery, and what American can hesitate in the Choice; but don't harrangue about it, act as if We were [Independent]. Make every preparation for War, take all prudent Measures to procure success to our Arms, and the Consequence is obvious.'[4]

The author offers alternatives to establishing a national navy—reliance on state navies and privateers—but does not take into account the realities of the final months of 1775 when the naval debate raged. The state navies either did not exist, or were in their infancy. How were 'coastal defense' and 'convoy protection' to be left to such forces? They would no more serve as a collective tool in the hands of Congress than did the state militias, hence the creation of the Continental Army. Since the cost of the state navies was ultimately borne by the central government, which in 1790 assumed the bulk of the states' indebtedness, the economic thrust of Dull's argument is without result. The states could only have been prompted to increase their own naval forces with the financial assistance of Congress.

The new navy's first assignment contradicts the author's argument in favor of state forces. The Marine Committee ordered Commodore Esek Hopkins to sail with his squadron of converted merchantships from Philadelphia to the Chesapeake to clear the bay of a few small Royal Navy vessels cooperating with Lord Dunmore's fleet. Lacking the force required to oppose Dunmore's flotilla, Maryland and Virginia turned to Congress for assistance. The Continental Navy was the alternative to the state navies: the means to insure that the cost of collective maritime defense did not fall disproportionately on any state.[5]

Nor were privateers an acceptable alternative. Proposals to unleash an American *guerre de course* against Britain repeatedly foundered in Congress, where members were intent on keeping the war as limited and controlled as possible. The Royal Navy was still weak in American waters, and the British army held only Boston. The political revolution had succeeded, except in Canada. There remained hope, if not an expectation, that Britain would acknowledge the political turn of events and seek an accommodation rather than attempt to reconquer a wilderness continent. Congress feared that a privateer campaign might get out of hand and provoke the British merchants and government. Only in March 1776 did a privateering resolution pass after it became clear that a full-scale war was inevitable.[6]

Nor were the privateers well-suited to the tasks Congress wished to perform late in 1775. Privateer commanders were notoriously independent souls, not subject to naval orders even if they agreed to participate in a specific cruise. And when they did take part, as in John Manley's *Hancock-Boston* squadron in 1777, they proved unreliable. If there were military objectives to be attained, in which naval forces were indispensible, public vessels commanded by commissioned officers, subject to the laws of the Continental Congress, were essential to carrying out the mission. Certainly, privateers were not going to clear Chesapeake Bay of even weak Royal Navy forces in early 1776.[7]

To Congress, a national maritime response was imperative. Men such as John Adams believed that liberty had to be earned by fighting, and if the war dragged on, could be best assured by French intervention. Military, political, and diplomatic policies were not viewed as separate, but interrelated. Americans had to evince, to themselves and to Europeans, that they were a sovereign people, able to wield the instruments of sovereignty—purse and sword. To win respect, the central authority had to act like a national government. It had to demonstrate to states such as Maryland and Virginia that the collective strength of the whole could and would be used in their support. Funds had to be raised and a national military estab-

4. Samuel Chase to John Adams, 12 Jan. [1776], J. Adams, *Papers of John Adams*, R. J. Taylor et al., eds., 6 vols. to date (Cambridge, 1977—), III, 400-401; Chase to Adams, 28 Apr. 1776, ibid., IV, 150-51.

5. The Naval Committee to Commodore Esek Hopkins, 5 Jan. 1776, *NDAR*, III, 637-38. Hopkins's squadron ultimately sailed to the Bahamas for the expedition against New Providence.

6. W. J. Morgan, 'American Privateering in America's War for Independence, 1775-1783,' *The American Neptune*, XXXVI (1976), 81-84.

7. Jeremiah Powell to John Hancock, 7 May 1777, *NDAR*, VIII, 924-25; Intelligence from Captain Fielding of the *Diamond*, [31 May 1777], ibid., 1049; W. J. Morgan, *Captains to the Northward: The New England Captains in the Continental Navy* (Barre, Mass., 1959), p. 88.

lished. In its absence, the ties holding the colonies together would be brittle. The stronger and more resolute the states united appeared, the more likely the British were to desist, and the more attractive an ally the United States would appear to Versailles.

Historicity aside, the cost-effectiveness approach to assessing the value of the Continental Navy makes little sense. Dull states that naval expenditures, about eight percent of total Congressional outlays, helped 'drive the government into virtual bankruptcy by 1780.' Yet offsetting the $12.5 million to $13.5 million spent on the navy was, to use one of his own sources, $6 million in prize money, much of it specie earned by sales overseas where it could be used to purchase needed supplies to be shipped to the United States. Why pick on naval expenditure? Was the Continental Army cost effective? After the French entry in 1778, would it not have been less expensive to have disbanded the army and relied on the French expeditionary force and the militia to secure independence? Why not argue that it would have been cheaper for American taxpayers to have remained British colonists rather than to have struggled for independence?[8]

Many of Dull's indictments of the navy—that it was a 'continued drain on the attention and energy' of Congress, that it caused hostility with French officers, that it was politically divisive, and that it was rent with internal squabbles—apply equally and probably more so to the Continental Army. Army officers bickered with the French, and each other. The army administration was always overworked, its personnel exhausted, and its expenses extraordinarily wasteful. And it was the disgruntled army, not the navy, that threatened American democracy at Newburgh, New York. Regarding political division, Dull claims that naval issues 'repeatedly pitted New Englanders against Southerners,' citing William Fowler's *Rebels Under Sail.* But Fowler relates but a single instance of such divisiveness, adding that it was unjustified. In fact, the questions raised by southerners, particularly Henry Laurens, concerned their need for naval defense as rumors spread of British plans for a southern campaign. The Marine Committee, over which Laurens himself for a time presided, responded to such requests by sending several squadrons to operate between the Delaware and Virginia Capes during 1778-1779. Others were ordered as far south as the Carolinas, and it was in answer to southern appeals that Commodore Abraham Whipple's four-ship squadron was trapped and lost at Charleston in late 1779.[9]

A rather surprising argument used by Dull in his attack is that the European operations of the Continental Navy 'threatened to provoke a premature and potentially disastrous war between France and Britain.' 'Premature' for whom? The Continental Navy was not an instrument meant to serve the French court. Louis XVI had his own, much larger navy, of which Dull is an able student. Nor were the Americans interested in a properly timed French intervention. Matters appeared rather desperate to Americans in 1777, except for those clairvoyants who saw clearly the future victories at Saratoga and Yorktown. Americans wanted immediate French intervention. Captain Lambert Wickes, commanding *Reprisal* cruising in British waters, saw as his duty the provocation of war, writing: '. . . our late Cruize has made a great deal of Noise & will Probably Soon bring on a Warr between France and England which is my Sincere Wish. . . .' And Wickes was operating as a servant of American policy. William Carmichael, secretary to the American Commissioners in Paris, wrote: 'It is our Business to force on a War in Spite of their Inclinations to the Contrary—for which Purpose I See nothing So likely as fitting out Privateers from the Ports & Islands of France.'[10]

While cruises such as Wickes's served American diplomatic interests, they also struck at the heart of the British mercantile system. Captain John Paul Jones, who conducted raids in British waters during 1778 and 1779, aptly characterized the effect of such undertak-

8. E. J. Ferguson, *The Power of the Purse: A History of American Public Finance, 1776-1790* (Chapel Hill, 1961), pp. 333-34. Dull's figures for Continental Navy expenditures are inaccurate. The figures taken from Ferguson by W. M. Fowler, Jr., in *Rebels Under Sail: The American Navy during the Revolution* (New York, 1976), Dull's source, are for expenditures by both Congress and the state governments. Actually, then, the Navy consumed 16 percent of Congress's budget during the American Revolution. For prize money earned by the navy see M. M. Boatner, III, *Encyclopedia of the American Revolution* (New York, 1966), pp. 896-97.

9. Fowler, *Rebels Under Sail*, p. 73; C. O. Paullin, *Out-Letters of the Continental Marine Committee and Board of Admiralty: August, 1776-September, 1780*, 2 vols. (New York, 1914), II, 195-97, 200-10, 218-21, 229-42, passim.

10. Capt. Lambert Wickes to Capt. Henry Johnson, 20 July 1777, Great Britain, Public Record Office, Colonial Office 5/7, 125; William Carmichael to William Bingham, 25 June to 6 July 1777, National Archives, Record Group 360, Papers of the Continental Congress, Item 88 (Papers of William Carmichael, 1776-1791), pp. 23-30.

ings in a letter to the American Commissioners in Paris. After discussing an attack on shipping in the River Clyde, on Scotland's west coast, he suggested that it could

> be equally expedient to alarm Britain on the east Side which might be effected with equal and perhaps inferior force, by destroying the Coal shipping, of New-castle &c. which would occasion the utmost distress for fuel in London: and there are many towns of Consequence on the east and north coasts of England and Scotland which are defenceless, and might be either burnt or laid under contribution. The success of either of these, or the like enterprizes will depend on surprizing well, and on despatch both in the attack and in the retreat, therefore it is necessary the ships should sail fast, and that their force should be sufficient to repel any of the enemy's cruizing frigates, two of which may be met at a time.

Again, such dangerous but important work would not be undertaken effectively by privateers.[11]

Yet another argument needs to be answered. 'The navy captured about two hundred merchantmen in all,' Dull writes in a section on the relative worth of privateers over the ships of the Continental Navy, 'and for every one taken by the navy perhaps ten were taken by privateers.' True, but by how many ships? Dull's own figures and sources in fact make a better case for the efficiency of the Continental Navy over the privateers. According to these sources, there were between 2,000 and 3,000 American privateers at sea at one time or another during the Revolution, but less than fifty vessels served in the Continental Navy. The average privateer, then, accounted for 0.8 prizes, while the average man of war accounted for 4. Thus, ship for ship, the Continental Navy was five times as effective as the privateers. Would it not have been sensible to have spent more on the navy, and to have restricted privateering? The warships were always undermanned and slow to leave port because of recruiting difficulties caused by the privateers drawing off men. And the competition for scarce guns, naval stores, and cordage served to drive up prices and increase the burden on Congress's finances.[12]

The Continental Navy was not a mistake. It was an eighteenth-century military force, with the attendant inefficiencies of the era. Its administration was primitive, reflecting the committee system of the Continental Congress. It was wasteful as an organization, but that was the fault of Congress. The navy's administrative problems were not unique in the government and were a symptom of broader national difficulties that would eventually lead to the adoption of the Federal Constitution in 1789. While the Continental Navy could never hope to win single-handedly the war against Britain, neither could any of the other entities engaged in the struggle: the militias, the state navies, the privateers, the Continental Army, or trade embargoes or foreign intervention. Only the efforts of the united colonies, political, military, and diplomatic could provide victory.

The Continental Navy's role in the war was perhaps the most difficult: tackling the Old World's preeminent naval power. True, as Dull writes, the Continental Navy's 'occasional triumphs have been more often remembered than its frequent defeats.' But that is a matter for study, not censure.[13] Perhaps Dull's earlier work on the French Navy distracts him from consideration of the diverse maritime war that preceded the dramatic intervention of France in 1778.[14]

Although the Continental Navy and hundreds of American privateers were never able to wrest 'command of the sea' from Britain, they made its maintenance costly. The Royal Navy was large, but so too were the demands made upon it. It was essential for the security of the British Isles that their ships patrol the European coast from the Scheldt to Gibraltar, to say nothing of the routes to India. British warships were also deployed to escort convoys, to blockade thousands of miles of American coast, and to assist in army operations. The fifty ships and smaller vessels serving off North America at the end of 1775 were thinly spread.

Under these conditions, the presence of a handful of American warships did not go unnoticed. The outfitting of the first squadron in the Delaware troubled the King's first minister, Lord North. Captain John Paul Jones's capture of the supply ship *Mellish* prompted King George III to write Lord Sandwich. By 1777, American operations absorbed virtually all of the

11. John Paul Jones to the American Commissioners in Paris, 5 June [4-5 July ?] 1778, *Adams Papers*, VI, 261–62.

12. Boatner, *Encyclopedia*, pp. 896-97.

13. As an aid to scholars, the Naval Historical Center's on-going *NDAR* series provides coverage of all maritime aspects of the war, yet Dull fails to mention its existence. Fowler, whose book Dull considers 'the best study of the Continental Navy,' has termed the *NDAR* series 'absolutely indispensible.' See Fowler, *Rebels Under Sail*, p. 341.

14. J. R. Dull, *The French Navy and American Independence: A Study of Arms and Diplomacy, 1774-1787* (Princeton, 1975).

Royal Navy's smaller vessels. In 1778, the captures and raids of *Ranger*, commanded by Jones, in the Irish Sea and on the West Scottish coast prompted the British to deploy the ships *Drake, Stag, Doctor, Thetis,* and *Boston* as well as the sloop of war *Heart of Oak* and smaller vessels. In 1779, the Continental Navy participated not in four (as Dull records) but in six squadron operations, five off the American coast and one in European waters. Considering that neither ships, nor officers, nor seamen were in Continental service until four years earlier, these exertions were remarkable.[15]

No one can deny the problems that hindered the Continental Navy's creation and troubled existence. Yet despite all this, the United States established a naval force that, ship for ship, performed better than American privateers. Further, the Continental Navy could and did have a strategic use, as in Jones's European operations, that could not be expected from privateers. When the larger, more powerful French Navy came to hand, funding for American naval operations shrank, as might have been anticipated. The strategic presence of the French fleet in American waters altered fundamentally the way in which the British deployed their squadrons.

At the same time, it is unrealistic to expect that the Continental Navy would have had the same objective as the French. Congress initiated a naval policy with commerce raiding as its primary mission. Amphibious attacks and joint operations with other naval forces were but secondary possibilities. The Continental Navy cruised quite successfully against commerce, as did privateers. This was a sure way of injuring Britain's economy and of avoiding a direct confrontation with the Royal Navy while disrupting the enemy's lines of supply and communication. Such attacks had a more direct impact in the British Isles than did dozens of land skirmishes.

The British finally relinquished their American colonies because they lost the will to continue the struggle. Although none can deny the importance of the American victory at Saratoga, the French Navy's contribution in the Battle off the Virginia Capes, and the resulting victory at Yorktown, the Continental Navy played an important part in the Revolutionary War. It came into existence when there were few, if any, privateers; it provided a way for a significant proportion of maritime families to participate in the war; it persuaded friendly European powers that the United States was capable of collective effort on the high seas. It necessitated deployment of valuable British naval forces. There was another less tangible need supplied by the Continental Navy which could not be performed by privateers. Neither representing private citizens nor individual states, it was a creation of the thirteen United States and as such played a unifying role. As historian William James Morgan writes:

> Ships of the Continental Navy were subject to a national jurisdiction, commanded by officers wearing a distinctive national uniform, and flew a national flag. Continental Naval captains gave and received the courtesy salutes customarily exchanged between sovereign nations. On the ocean, in West Indian and European ports, the Continental Navy was material proof, for all to view, that England's revolting American colonies were determined to be a free and independent country.[16]

The efforts of the Continental Navy cannot be counted as a 'mistake' when weighing the factors that brought the War of Independence to a successful close.

15. Lord North to Lord Sandwich, 9 Jan. 1776, G. R. Barnes and J. H. Owens, eds., *The Private Papers of John, Earl of Sandwich: First Lord of the Admiralty, 1771-1782*, 4 vols. (Naval Records Society, 1932-38), I: 207; George III to Sandwich, 22 Jan. 1777, ibid., p. 172; and the introductory notes to Chapter VI, 'Home Waters 1776-78,' ibid., pp. 201-202. See also D. Syrett, 'Defeat at Sea: The Impact of American Naval Operations upon the British, 1775-1778,' in Department of the Navy, *Maritime Dimensions of the American Revolution* (Washington, 1977), pp. 13-22; and S. E. Morison, *John Paul Jones: A Sailor's Biography* (Boston, 1959), pp. 156-61.

16. Morgan, *Captains to the Northward*, p. 221.

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Cabotian Conjectures: Did a Cabot Reach Maine in 1498?

JOHN H. GILCHRIST

THE term 'mundus novus' (New World) was first used in 1493 by Peter Martyr, a humanist in the court of Ferdinand and Isabella. It implied undiscovered hinterlands or islands unknown to Europeans, a region for which the old Ptolemaic geography left no room.[1] Martin Behaim's 1492 map illustrates how fantastic such a notion would have appeared to Columbus, for whom 'mundus novus' meant simply an eastern extension of the Asian land mass with outlying islands like Japan, Marco Polo's 'Cipango.' Indeed, *The Book of Ser Marco Polo concerning the Kingdoms and Marvels of the East* would not vanquish the Ptolemaic theory that east of Asia lay an immeasurable marshland until almost two centuries after the book's appearance. By the last quarter of the fifteenth century it dawned upon Toscanelli, Columbus and other Europeans that if water existed to the east of China, as it manifestly did to the west of Spain and Portugal, maritime journeys to this vast continent might be feasible.

The earliest known European voyage to the New World's subarctic region is that of the Cabots in 1497,[2] the year that Vasco da Gama journeyed to India by way of the Cape of Good Hope. But another Cabot expedition to the New World a year later, authorized as were their two earlier voyages by England's Henry Tudor, met a fate that is still unresolved. Evidence for this voyage persuaded nineteenth-century investigators like J. G. Kohl, H. P. Biggar and John Fiske that John Cabot and his son Sebastian, jointly or perhaps Sebastian alone, not only ranged the Maine coast but returned to England with their fleet intact. The same evidence led the equally luminous Henry Harrisse to question, and S. E. Morison of our own day categorically to deny, anything beyond the acknowledged fact that John Cabot departed from Bristol in the spring of 1498 with five vessels, of which one retired to Ireland in distress. These two poles of historical deduction have generated a lively discourse that is intriguing enough to justify a brief summary of its more notable conclusions from Richard Hakluyt to R. A. Skelton.

The period from the early nineteenth century to the first decade of the twentieth witnessed historiographic contributions to North and Central American discovery that were of the highest order. Not least was Alexander von Humboldt's identification in 1833 of the now celebrated La Cosa portolan mappemonde (ca. 1500-1505).[3] This great map, the earliest known post-Columbian map of the New World,[4] is no less remarkable for conceding to England, in symbol and word, that portion of the coast from Cape Race, Newfoundland to a promontory that might be Cape Elizabeth.

Why should Juan de La Cosa, a Spanish mariner and royal cartographer in an epoch of Iberian maritime dominance, have credited England with New World territory in the absence of conclusive evidence that anyone, least of all the English, had navigated

1. Americus Vespucci, in a letter dated 1503, would be the first to apply 'mundus novus' to the South American continent. John Fiske, *The Discovery of America*, vol. II, pp. 336-39.

2. John Cabot made an unsuccessful attempt to voyage westward in the previous year. Even less is known about this expedition than that of 1498.

3. This famous map, the original of which is in the Naval Museum of Madrid, is believed to have been begun by La Cosa in 1500; the western hemisphere is sufficiently different in style from the eastern, however, to raise speculation that the map was not completed before 1505. One modern historian, B. G. Hoffman, considers that the New World (Asia) portion is either post-1529 or a fake, a view not shared by others. S. E. Morison presents the controversy in *The European Discovery of America, the Northern Voyages, A.D. 500-1600* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1971), pp. 238-39. For a splendid color reproduction of this map, see *National Geographic*, November 1975, p. 605.

4. A laurel that it shares with the Cantino of 1502.

below Cape Breton prior to 1520?[5] One explanation for the English standards La Cosa staked along the northeast coast, spanned by an inscription *saying* the coast was discovered by Englishmen, is that Bristol mariners had made pre-Columbian visits to Baccalao, as Newfoundland, whose waters won early fame for their codfish, was called, as early perhaps as 1480.[6] Such a thesis, however, assumes voyages about whose existence there is even more doubt than that of the Cabots in 1498. A more plausible case, favored by D. B. Quinn and others,[7] is that La Cosa got his New World information from John Day's letter to Columbus, which, written in December 1497 or January 1498, necessarily describes the Cabot voyage of 1497. The trouble with this explanation of the English standards is that La Cosa appears to have documented a coastline exceeding the geographical confines of Day's description. It is true that if the latitudinal bandwidth defined by La Cosa's 'English' coastline is transferred to a modern chart, it appears to coincide with the extreme latitudes of John Cabot's Newfoundland exploration in 1497.[8] But an allowance of two degrees error in latitude determination—over a century later even so accomplished a navigator as Champlain was capable of a forty-minute latitude error—*could* have permitted Cabot a Maine landfall in the next year, a possibility supported by J. A. Williamson[9] and vehemently rejected by Morison.[10] In any case, La Cosa's territorial award to England can scarcely be considered gratuitous whimsy in an age of jealous rivalry for New World claims. Even Harrisse, writing at the close of the nineteenth century, having denied that the evidence supports a second Cabot visit, is compelled to admit that the standards clearly implicate a pre-1500 English expedition to a region that England would not revisit until the middle of Elizabeth's reign.[11]

Harrisse, aware of Sebastian Cabot's talent for exaggeration, nevertheless admitted into evidence the following items, supplied to Peter Martyr by Cabot, relating to the nature and extent of the 1498 voyage:

> A Cabot contemporary, Raimond di Soncino, told John in 1498 'From the place already possessed [i.e., Newfoundland Island] he would proceed by constantly following the shore, until he reached the coast . . . opposite . . . Cipango. . . .'[12]
>
> Of the five ships leaving Bristol, one abandoned the fleet in a storm, putting in to Ireland.
>
> Launcelot Thirkill, owner or commander of one of the ships, was in London June 6, 1501 when he repaid a twenty-pound loan from Henry Tudor, which, Harrisse presumes, 'may have been the one of March 22, 1498 received from the King while fitting out a ship for the voyage.'[13]
>
> Dr. Puebla, Spanish ambassador to England and a Cabot contemporary, remarked that the fleet was expected back in September of 1498, *yet was provisioned for a year's absence.*
>
> The presence of the English flags in La Cosa's map.

The historical accuracy of those East Coast standards, underscored by the message 'mar descubierta por yngles,' has been a perennial conundrum.[14] And the arresting equivalence between the numbers of flags and fleet units that left the Severn for the New World in late April or early May 1498 has been little noted. East of the papal Line of Demarcation,[15] La Cosa shows another, solitary, English standard impaling an island where Greenland, or perhaps Iceland, should be; these are the codfishing grounds that Bristol mariners had long frequented by the time the Cabots embarked in

5. The *Santa Maria*, wrecked on Hispaniola after Columbus' first crossing, was owned by La Cosa. He is believed to have crossed on her either as master (second in command) or pilot, and may also have accompanied Columbus on the second voyage. La Cosa was to share later adventures with his friend Americus Vespucci off the coast of South America, the original 'mundus novus' to which Martin Waldseemüller affixed Americus' name in his map of 1507, the first to bear the New World's designation. La Cosa's fame extended to navigation as well as to cartography; indeed, so prolific were his activities that Morison postulates the existence of two Juan de La Cosas! See *Admiral of the Ocean Sea* (Boston/New York: Little, Brown and Company/Time Inc., 1942/1962), pp. 186-89, 198.

6. The case for early Bristol voyages has most recently been advanced by Quinn. See his *North America from Earliest Discovery to First Settlements* (New York, 1977), pp. 62-64.

7. See John J. Juricek, 'John Cabot's First Voyage,' *Smithsonian Journal of History*, II, 1967-1968, pp. 1-22.

8. David B. Quinn, *England and the Discovery of America, 1481-1620* (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1974), p. 101.

9. James A. Williamson, *The Cabot Voyages and Bristol Discovery Under Henry VII* (Cambridge, England: University Press, 1962), p. 71.

10. Morison, *The European Discovery . . . Northern Voyages . . . ,* p. 193.

11. Henry Harrisse, *John Cabot, the Discoverer of North America, and Sebastian, His Son* (London: B. F. Stevens, 1896), p. 136.

12. Harrisse, *John Cabot, the Discoverer . . . ,* p. 136.

13. Harrisse, *John Cabot, the Discoverer . . . ,* p. 135.

14. This inscription appears also on Robert Thorne's map of 1527, the Ribero manuscript map of 1529 and, of course, the Sebastian Cabot map of 1544. See Emerson D. Fite and Archibald Freeman, *A Book of Old Maps Delineating American History* (Cambridge/New York: Harvard University Press/Dover Publications, Inc., 1926/1969), maps 13, 14 and 18.

15. Issued in 1493, the papal bull awarded New World territory—still believed to be Asia—east of the papal meridian to Portugal and west of it to Spain. In the next year, Portugal succeeded in having the meridian shifted 360 leagues (about 1,250 nautical miles) west of the Azores, culminating in the Treaty of Tordesillas with Spain.

Mathew on their first successful expedition to the New World.[16]

Kohl, a mid-Victorian student of European voyages to the Northeast, for his part made no mention of the English standards, but astutely noted that

> Cosa draws the entire East coast of North America . . . with a continuous line, [as if he] thought that there was a large continental part of the world, back of the West Indies Island discovered by Columbus . . .[17]

Acknowledging that no Spanish navigator 'had been along that coast' before 1500, Kohl, like Harrisse, conceded that La Cosa must have obtained his information for that portion of the mappemonde from an English expedition, but parted company with Harrisse in rashly opting for Sebastian, not John, as the 1498 voyager.[18]

Biggar, a contemporary of Harrisse, interpreted the English standards to indicate that the Cabot expedition proceeded south from Greenland. He cited Martyr, Hakluyt and Sebastian Cabot himself in support of his belief that Sebastian accompanied his father in 1498 and

> upon departing Bristol, the fleet sailed to the east coast of Greenland, which it then ranged clockwise, heading southwest to Labrador down the northeast coast to the Chesapeake; finding provisions low, they returned to Bristol.[19]

Such a theory could well explain the single English standard in the Greenland/Iceland region. Biggar goes on to buttress his Greenland-to-Chesapeake postulate for the second voyage with a Renaissance historian's claim that Cabot 'set his course towards Iceland above C. Labrador and as far North as 58°.'[20] Cape Farewell on the island of Umanarsuak off Greenland's southern tip is at 59° 46′ N latitude. Adding 1°, the standard sixteenth-century latitudinal error, to Francesco Gomara's figure brings one very close to Cape Farewell. In sum, Gomara's 'Labrador' was really Greenland, as confirmed in Diogo Ribero's 1529 map commissioned by the Emperor Charles V. This map, according to Biggar, drew upon data supplied by Sebastian, who, in 1519, became Ribero's superior in the hydrographical department at Seville. Biggar concluded his otherwise plausible account with the rather lame speculation that the senior Cabot, having assured his English sponsors of the riches abounding in the 'new land' discovered by him the previous year, returned in chagrin with empty holds and a tenuous tale about a land of ice and snow.

Skelton, a mid-twentieth-century champion of the 1498 Cabot visit to New England's coast, describes the mood of expectation on the eve of this, the third, Cabot embarkation from Bristol:

> In the winter of '97-'98 London was fired with the promise of reaching [China, Cipango] . . . everyone believed that [across] . . . the ocean lay . . . Asia . . . Ayala [Spanish ambassador in London] grew angry at the intrusion [by the English] upon his sovereign's rights to the same Asia. . . .
>
> After '98 [Skelton continues] all this disappears. Thenceforward there were more English voyages . . . scanty records exist of them.[21]

It is fair to ask what had killed the long-held assumption that Columbus and the Cabots had visited China—'By inference—of proof we have none—it may have been the voyage of '98,' Skelton speculates. He drew yet another guarded inference in the same cause:

> If any cartographic evidence for the course of John Cabot's ships in 1498 exists, it can be sought only in the coastline drawn by La Cosa. . . . Many students have associated this delineation with the voyage of '98. . . . If La Cosa is here recording the results of a voyage, that voyage is much more likely to be John Cabot's than any other . . . beyond this, dogmatism is unjustified.[22]

Kohl's case for Sebastian, as against John, had an antecedent earlier in the nineteenth century. Ridiculing Hakluyt, the pre-Victorian investigator, Richard Biddle entered the fray with these claims:

16. David B. Quinn, *North America from the Earliest Discovery to First Settlements* (New York: Harper & Row, 1977), pp. 62-64.

17. J. G. Kohl, *A History of the Discovery of Maine* (Portland, Maine: Maine Historical Society Collection, 1869), ser. 2, vol. 1, p. 152.

18. Antonio de Herrera, discussing the 1525 expedition of Estevan Gomez to North America, refers to the coast as 'a great stretch of land which, up to that time (i.e., 1525) had not been traversed by other Spanish ships, *although Sebastian Cabot, John Verrazano and others had sailed along it*.' (Emphasis mine.) See Antonio de Herrera, *Historia General, 1601-1615* in Justin Winsor, *The Narrative and Critical History of America* (Boston and New York: Houghton, Mifflin & Co., 1884-1889), vol. 4, p. 129.

Cf. Richard Biddle below concerning the Sebastian-v-John question.

19. H. P. Biggar, *The Voyages of the Cabots and of the Cortereals to North America and Greenland, 1497-1503* (Paris: Revue Hispanique, 1903), pp. 63-80.

20. Quoted in Biggar, *The Voyages of the Cabots . . .*, p. 64.

21. In Williamson, *The Cabot Voyages . . .*, pp. 105-6.

22. In Williamson, *The Cabot Voyages . . .*, pp. 299-300.

John Cabot died soon after the 3 February 1498 letters patent were issued by Henry Tudor.

Sebastian led the '98 expedition—by right of sharing in the '97 discovery, and as the son [and, presumably, heir] of the new [now 'dead'] patentee.

Hakluyt frivolously replaced 'Sebastian' with 'John' in the various annals of the time applying to the [so-called] second voyage.[23]

Yet nowhere did Biddle explain, if Sebastian indeed commanded the 1498 expedition, how it is that nothing was reported about the date of his return, what was seen beyond the 'New Isle' and what was the nature of Sebastian's reception by his royal sponsor. Kohl repeated Biddle's arguments, adding only that John 'is not again [i.e., after issuance of the patent] mentioned in connection with the voyage.' Indeed, Kohl and Biddle are as doctrinaire on behalf of the son as Biggar, who allows Sebastian at least as a participant, and Skelton are circumspect in support of the father. It is somehow easier to accept the likelihood of an important voyage by a leader who never came back than by one who returned and breathed not a word of it in the remaining fifty-nine years of his life.

The controversy was summed up by a mid-nineteenth-century Hakluyt scholar in a fashion that did small credit to the daring and originality of Richard Hakluyt himself:

The question as to how far they sailed along the coast to the south, either in the first or second voyage, we regard as more doubtful . . . [than] that the Cabots discovered North America before Columbus discovered the mainland of South America, [which] is well established.[24]

So cautious a testimony on the 'second voyage' is difficult to understand, since virtually everything known today about the 1498 Cabot venture was available a hundred years ago. Only the magisterial Morison of our own day, so certain—and rightly—that the Cabots discovered Newfoundland in the previous year, categorically rejects the case for their having reached the mainland. Capriciously assigning the date of 1509 to the New World portion of La Cosa's mappemonde, Morison then whimsically suggests that King Ferdinand II urged the English standards on La Cosa to ingratiate himself with Henry VIII, his new son-in-law, and to vex his maritime rival and other son-in-law, D. Manuel of Portugal![25] Even Harrisse, Morison's companion-in-arms, admitted the standards into evidence for a pre-1500 visit by England, although it must be conceded that not until a half-century after Harrisse would a circa date of 1505 for the New World portion be recognized.

But who, if not a Cabot, could account for those celebrated standards festooning La Cosa's Northeast coast? It is true that João Fernandes and the Corte Reals followed the Cabots in those waters before La Cosa finished his map, but their patents were from D. Manuel, not Henry Tudor. It is glory enough that these navigators would, on the heels of the Cabots, inaugurate a quarter-century of Portuguese dominance in Northeast discovery.

Although there is no proof yet, the record offers presumptive evidence that a Cabot reached the Northeast mainland in 1498. Until an English-sponsored voyager with better credentials is brought to light, this will remain the most compelling explanation for the provocative information on La Cosa's map.

23. Richard Biddle, *A Memoir of Sebastian Cabot with a Review of the History of Maritime Discovery*, (Philadelphia: Carey and Lea, 1831), pp. 80-81, 84, 86.

24. Richard Hakluyt, *A Discourse on Western Planting, Written in the Year 1584*, Charles Deane, ed. (Portland: Maine Historical Society Collection, 1877), vol. 2, p. 195.

25. Morison, *The European Discovery . . . Northern Voyages . . .*, pp. 239-40.

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Almost Down East

JOHN C. BOWER, JR.

THE summer of 1967 in the Gulf of Maine will go down in history as one of the greatest disasters ever for the sailing yachtsman: either light and variable airs or Force 6, buckets of rain and barrels of fog, not to mention long-john temperatures. As a case in point, the Marblehead-Halifax race came off one of the drifting matches of the century, the slowest in the history of the event. So also with the cruising fraternity—in any case those who depend mostly upon wind to make passages.

Here follows the log of the sloop *Jennifer*, a former racing machine converted to what might be loosely called a 'camp cruiser' by her captain, John Stouffer, and the author. The modest object of our voyage was a ten-day round trip from Hingham, Massachusetts, to Monhegan Island and Muscongus Bay, destinations to which neither Stouffer nor I had sailed before. The weather being what it was, Casco Bay was as far as we got. For Stouffer and me sailing home a mere one hundred miles in forty-eight hours was more than a disappointment. It was murder on our nerves; we both could function well enough with but little sleep if the boat moved. And that impossible weather finally caused the first serious disagreement we had had in seven years of sailing together, which was where to anchor to sit out a foul tide just two miles from the home mooring: for during our perigrinations off to the SE of the Boston main ship channel we came to within fifty feet of going ashore on Half Tide Rock. It was this near-mischance that lighted my fuse, and a shouting match ensued.

I've copied the log closely, making only superficial after-the-fact changes for clarification. Courses and bearings are magnetic. Readers can follow us on C. & G. 1106 at a glance, or on the 1200s more closely. All the stuff in brackets [. . .] is afterthought, or rumination if you will, and if some of it seems like sour grapes at least it will get sympathetic attention from other victims of the Gulf of Maine weather in the summer of 1967.

Saturday, August 5

0700—Slip mooring, wind WSW light, patchy fog. Spinnaker set. [Set?]

0845—Boston Light abeam, course 090°, wind SW 5 mph., fog.

0940—Drift to Thieves Ledge. course 045°.

1045—Bell No. 1 Graves abeam, course for Thatcher's Id. 010°.

1215— Bell 'DG', course 055°, wind SE 5-10 mph.

1455—Whistler, Eastern Point.

1700—Thatcher's Id. close aboard, wind veers suddenly SW, Force 3.

1735—Anchor Back Harbor, Rockport. [Otherwise known as Sandy Cove, to the westward of Bearskin Neck, than which there is no worse anchorage on the eastern seaboard. But what of the sheltered harbor behind the mole?—the answer is that, from the mooring standpoint it is Marblehead in Race Week cubed.]

Sunday, August 6

1130—Depart Back Harbor, wind NE, F. 3, fog. [What had we done, pray, from sunrise to 1130? Tune in weather reports which were cockeyed in toto, and peer out into the bloody fog, is what. Some idle talk about one of us going ashore for the *N. Y. Times*. Caught drinking beer in the morning! Decided against calling on friends ashore; were both in too foul a mood.]

1300—Backed NW 10-15, course 015°. Bash—thick & freshening. Radio weather report on WHDH 180° out. Turn around and jog back. [Could we have gone on?—I suppose so, but it would have been a wet, cold night playing toesies with the Isles of Shoals.]

1430—Anchor Back Harbor. Buckets of rain. *Jennifer* jumping like frightened colt—practically in the breakers.

Monday, August 7

0500—Wind light, motion awful at anchor. J.B. unable to face scrambled eggs fried in garlic butter.

0530—Depart Back Harbor, wind WNW 0-5, course 030°.

0730—Set spinnaker—rather close.

0845—Secure spinnaker, set No. 1,—not much good.

1000—White Id. light abeam, course 020°. Wind unsteady.

Noon—SE zephyrs. Run with main foreguy rigged because spinnaker won't fill. [Everyone knows about boom vangs, but it seems that not all marconi sailors know about the foreguy rig, which is designed to make the vessel jog along in very light airs—or no apparent wind at all—ranging from right astern to about broad on the quarter. What we do in *Jennifer* is snap the spinnaker pole downhaul snap hook into the upper main sheet shackle and lead the hauling part aft to a cleat. Then we pay out the mainsheet until the boom fetches up on the inner stays, and rig chafing gear as needed. The mainsail then presents a veritable barn door to whatever zephyrs happen to be in the area. The boat will move even when tobacco smoke appears to drift straight up.]

1230—Position by bearings: 43°N, 70°-32'W. Course 035°.

1450—Line of position: Boon Island and Mt. Agamenticus nearly hidden in mist.

1500—Boon Id. light abeam to port, course 035°. Southeast breeze freshening.

1515—Line of position: Boon Id. and Boon Id. ledge buoy reciprocal, 200 yards inside ledge. Occasional breaking seas.

1530—Past dangers, course 045° for Portland L.V.

1900—Wind SSW 0-5. Jog along with foreguyed main.

2200—Flat calm, secure main; getting *very* thick. Grog and to the sack. [Oh yes, I know: one of us should have been on deck tootling our miniscule foghorn, but what the hell. We figured (and were fortunately correct) that nobody but an idiot would be out in this soup.]

Tuesday, August 8

0530—Flat calm, very thick.

0540—Wind SW 0-5, set main, course 035°.

0630—Set spinnaker. Ham & eggs.

0700—Dowse spinnaker—too light.

0800—Very thick. Portland L.V. horn bears 030°, estimated distance 2 mi. Five hours on the ebb.

0845—P.L.V. still bears 030°, dist. 1 mi.

0900—Flat calm. Secure main, heavy fog: est. vis. 100 yds. [One hundred feet, more like!—but John and I are always conservative when it comes to estimating weather, distances, bearings, and so on, the better to stay out of harm's way.]

1015—Wind comes in NE 5-10. Tack to Portland L.V. by sound bearings.

1100—Shake hands with P.L.V., max. vis. 150 yards. Come around L.V.'s stern and encounter excursion boat out from Portland. Much backing and tooting. Ask for latest weather; negative—sunny ashore. Tack on & off P.L.V., we affected by strong northerly set.

1140—Wind veers S; dep. P.L.V. course 080° for Monhegan Island. Thick.

1300—Wind south, F. 6! Reef main. Too much for No. 3 & no spitfire aboard. Bear off to 345°—abandon course to Monhegan. Wind freshening by the minute and thick fog. Short, steep seas.

1430—Halfway Rock abeam. Set No. 2.

1445—Shake out reef, seas lumpy.

1450—Course 355°, stem tide race over 90 ft. shoal off Eagle Id.

1530—Course 010°, wing-and-wing.

1700—Anchor in 5 fathom, Potts Harbor, South Harpswell, Maine. [Not a moment too soon, for as the wind abated the fog closed in for fair. When we first anchored we thought we'd been something less than courageous to turn back, but on further reflection think not. After all, we were new in Maine waters and Monhegan was some forty miles away. When we turned away at 1300 the wind was freshening and the seas building, the sky lowering, and we had at best seven to eight hours ahead of us to fetch the island. It's always a lovely prospect to make a strange landfall just before dark in heavy fog after a long bash under reefed main alone. No dead hero stuff for Stouffer and me, thank you.]

Wednesday, August 9

0800—Dink overboard; go ashore. [Those readers who are familiar with the U.S.-1, designed by Carl Alberg decades ago, will remember that it had a long counter stern—six feet or so deck aft the rudder post. This area was a great place to store the dinghy, securely lashed down, of course.] Hitchhike to Brunswick for stores: red meat, potatoes, rum.

1130—Stores aboard, ashore again, play tourists. Deli-

cious mess of steamed clams for lunch—place called Given's Restaurant.

P.M.—Decision to make it a lay day. Fog abates 1300, vis. 2 miles, light SW airs. [Should we have gone about our business at this point? We *might* have got out into the Gulf of Maine, but subsequent weather would have given us a rough night, as events proved. By midnight it was blowing F. 6 out of the SW, visibility nil. In any case, had we left Potts Hbr. at 1 P.M. we would have missed a pleasant visit with Dan Cooms and his two kids, who motored up alongside during the happy hour—not to mention missing the happy hour itself. Dan, a home-grown entrepreneur, had recently reopened the general store in S. Harpswell and had built a pier and float which takes six feet at low water. He was getting into the marina business willy-nilly, so we talked for some time about water, gas, ice, and so forth. I hope we were of some help, if only as a sound reflector.]

Thursday, August 10

0545—Awakened by boys in outboard. We've dragged to Bar Id., sounded less than 2 fathom. Express thanks to boys, set sail, up anchor & feel way back to original anchorage.

0730—Breakfast followed by thorough soap cleanup. Wind WSW F. 6, heavy fog with rain in it.

1130—Wind SW freshening (!), put out heavy anchor—35 lb. Danforth with chain. [Which we should have done in the first place, what with a sticky bottom and a clear SW reach, unimpeded by reefs two hours each side the tide. Too bad for Dan Cooms, but that clear reach argues against Potts Harbor becoming a yacht haven unless one's ground tackle is pretty heavy—and *Jennifer*'s heavy tackle is heavy indeed. No lunch hooks here. We tried; we know.]

1445—Wind veers NW—unsettled—backs to SW 10-15. Fog.

2100—Flat calm, rain, heavy fog. Nuts.

Friday, August 11

0300—Light NW wind, good visibility.

0415—Flat calm.

0500—Set sail. Get anchor out. Anchor, chain, and 10 fathom of rode buried in the muck. Jolly washdown. [We were resolved to go because of the good visibility and fair tide, wind or no. The only power we had was a 3-1/2 H.P. Seagull outboard which, through neglect, was very tired indeed. No offense to the Seagull people to be sure, since what other 3-1/2 B.H.P. engine would move a seven thousand pound boat at three knots? As will be seen (entries 0700, 0800) we used the engine for only an hour the entire voyage. But they were sixty crucial minutes, since they got us lined up properly to the Race and gave us steerage way through it. Long live the Seagull!]

0555—Lovely morning with remarkable visibility. Wind NW light. Mount Washington visible, bearing 325°.

0625—Horse Id. abeam, leaving Potts Harbor, wind very light.

0700—Flat calm, engine cranked up. Race off Eagle Id. negotiated; engine very tired.

0800—Bell 'BS' abeam. Retire engine, dink on deck. Course 325°, two hours ebb left. ['Course 325°'—that's a laugh! The NW zephyr and the ebb were pacing each other, so we dropped everything, lashed the helm and closed up shop, except for taking bearings.]

0945—Flat. Halfway Rock bearing 105°, dist. 3/4 mi. [Six miles in five hours: a new star in *Jennifer*'s crown. We couldn't have cranked up Seagull even if we thought she'd perform, because with the dinghy on deck her air would be cut off—and we weren't about to trail the dinghy in a calm just to gain a couple of miles; to hell with it.]

1000—Tide turns, still flat. Jewell Island tower bears 330°, dist. 2 mi. Awful motion.

1110—Set main, wind W, F. 2. Try to make 210°. Fail.

1115—Finback (?) whale feeding nearby—good sized.

Noon—Flat calm. Halfway Rock bearing 065°, dist. 1.8 mi. Portland L.V. bearing 207°, dist. 6.5 mi. Nearest land: Junk of Pork, bearing 308°, dist. 2.5 mi. [Does this seem like a lot of bearings? Well, of course it was, but we were both by now pretty chary of the fog, which we could see in a thick bank not too far offshore waiting to pounce upon us at any moment. Not to mention the tide having turned two hours before at 1000. Not a pretty prospect to be set back on the shore, so we felt that we ought to keep in touch.]

1300—Lost a mile to the flood. Underweigh, wind SE, light. Set No. 1.

1330—Junk of Pork abeam. Wind SE, variable 5-10.

1450—Wind SE, course 170°. Gong No. 7 off Cape Elizabeth.

1620—Red whistler No. 22. Wind veers SW 5-10.

1800—Cape Porpoise bearing 180°, course 170°.

2010—Wood Id. light abeam. Remarkable sunset. Port side running light *hors de combat*—lead broken off in socket. Watches set.
2200—Near flat, boom foreguy set up. Cape Porpoise bears 3 points forward starboard beam; quick flasher broad on port bow.
2225—Jog along under main alone. Light wind NW, visibility excellent. Boon Id. light loud & clear. Loom of Portsmouth right ahead. Long underfugs and foul weather gear to keep warm. [August in N.E.]
2300—Whether to spend rest of night under Cape Porpoise or not discussed. Decide to carry on.

Saturday, August 12

Early A.M.—Close coast, wind veering steadily to NW, light. Main alone with foreguy rig. Good visibility, cold. Course 175° to 185°.
0500—Cape Neddick Nubble abeam, dist. less than one mile. Jibe out.
0545—Boon Id. abeam, NW wind freshening.
0630—Jibe. Set spinnaker, course 240°.
0930—Jibe over to 190°. Wind F. 4, vis. 2-4 miles in haze.
1045—Raise Thatchers Id. in haze, bearing 175°.
Noon—Outer No. 1 bell off Dry Salvages close aboard.
1245—Thatchers day beacon abeam to starboard. Jibe for Boston. [With conditions then prevailing it would have meant late supper at the mooring in Hingham. '. . . mice and men . . .' etc.]
2000—Hand spinnaker, wind near flat. Set boom foreguy and ghost into Boston Harbor. Position: main ship channel at No. 1. Ebb to 2330, progress slow.
2215—Drop light anchor inside Hypocrite Channel after close brush with Halftide Rock. Wind near flat. Damn burning garbage scows under Green Id. [We caught a snooze, all standing. Just enough NE zephyrs to delight our slumbers with essence of burnt garbage,—the fun way to end a voyage.]

Sunday, August 13

0430—Get anchor out, make sail for Bug Light. NE wind very light, vis. good.
0500—[By the time we got to the green flasher off Bumkin Island the wind had freshened. Wouldn't you know!]
0535—Fetch mooring off nun No. 10, Hingham Harbor. Finished off remaining rum. [Not as much as one would have wished.]
[So ends this saga of our voyage almost Down East, and our longer coastwise work for the season 1967. Next season, we believe, will have to be better simply because it cannot be worse. My *envoi* is this: should we replace the mooring pendant with heavier nylon before the hurricane season is upon us once again? For remember the summer of '54, how like this summer it was, with the two busters that polished it off?]
[October 30. For once I took too dim a view: no storm in New England waters this autumn. However, we lost the dinghy through circumstances too shameful to relate. It was gleefully recovered by our harbor master, the starboard quarter knee mysteriously missing.]

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Book Review Article:
Dictionary of American Military Biography,
3 volumes

Reviewed by COLONEL ROGER WILLOCK, USMC (RET.)

ROGER J. SPILLER, ed., EDWARD G. DAWSON, assoc. ed., *Dictionary of American Military Biography*, 3 vols. Vol. I, Creighton W. Abrams, Leslie R. Groves; Vol. II, Henry W. Halleck, Israel Putnam; Vol. III, John A. Quitman, Elmo R. Zumwalt, Jr. (Westport, Conn.: Greenwood Press, 1984). 6¼" x 9½", cloth, 1,368 pages, six appendices, index, list of contributors. $145.00.

According to the Book of Genesis, an individual named Noah, reputedly an honest senior citizen well past retirement age, married, with three sons, then living in the Middle East, received a directive from higher headquarters which posed a distinct challenge: a package deal—combination warning and administrative orders, embarkation tables and sailing directions—but with no time provided for feasibility studies, contingency or alternate planning, submission of sealed bids to competing agencies, or consultation with local labor unions. With a vague table of organization and a fluid table of equipment, a complete absence of appendices, overlays, and communications annexes, administrative rather than combat loading was indicated. Other than initial mounting-out supplies and rations for forty-plus days, logistic constrictions were wide open. Meteorological Data included a predicted month and a half's supply of constant, heavy rainfall, enough at least to raise ground surface water level sufficient to float a deep-draft receptacle yet to be constructed from scratch, utilizing such basic materials and tools as were currently available. H-Hour and D-Day were definitely dependent on the arrival of the next rain cloud. And to top it off Noah was handed an obligatory passenger list which would have devastated any systems analysis, word-processors or computers which he might happen to have handy.

Aware that he was facing a crisis situation on a crash basis Noah convened a staff conference: designating himself task force commander, chief of staff (C/S) and operations officer (G-3) in charge of overall supervision and unit control, he detailed Son 'A' chief engineer with instructions to go on out into the back yard and somehow build an ark to certain dimensions and carrying capacities. Son 'B' was assigned logistics (G-4) and told to scrounge around the neighborhood requisitioning water and groceries, hay and grain, fruits and nuts in suitable quantity to permit the subsistence of all known animal and bird life for at least three months without replenishment capability once afloat. Son 'C' was named personnel officer (G-1) and was forthwith charged with the selection of every living thing of all flesh and feather—cattle and wild beasts, domestic fowl and birds, as well as creeping things and snakes, two of every sort, male and female—and then contrive on assembly how to get them to board a vessel, and to behave themselves once aboard, on a no frills ocean cruise of rather unspecified duration and unstated port of arrival. This called for considerable ingenuity for not everybody wants to share a bunk with a hooded cobra or a stateroom with a pair of skunks, most elephants are absolutely scared stiff of mice, and cats and dogs ordinarily don't mix socially. Certain flexibility had to be worked into living compartments for rabbits and monkeys are suspect of producing instantly-expandable families, and giraffes have to have neck room.

But as the christian world knows Noah successfully pulled off the long shot, defying existing field service regulations and staff officers field manuals, accomplishing his mission handsomely: the ark was built on time and fulfilled its purpose so well its occupants hardly got their collective feet wet on landing beach

Ararat. Proving that if there is a will, there is a way.

By the same token, Professors Roger Spiller and Joseph Dawson, editors, *Dictionary of American Military Biography*, volumes I, II, and III, have similarly proven that confronted with what must have seemed unsurmountable obstacles from the very start, not to mention determination at an early stage of the relative selectivity of best-fitted personnel from among the Armed Services, they nevertheless have been able to produce such an all-inclusive, outstanding literary compendium of superb historical accuracy, in pleasing format, and of high academic caliber. Just to select the individual space limitations for each of the biographies, bearing in mind the importance of the individual concerned, was no easy task: eventually it was decided that a 1,500-word essay would be the ideal (subject to a bit of give or take), that roughly one-half would be devoted to narration of the subject's career, and that the second half be restricted to the author's appraisal of the subject's importance to the course of American military and naval history. A further stipulation required the writer to present a list of books and/or substantiating source materials enabling the reader the opportunity to pursue his subject in greater depth, if desired.

Like Noah, the editors found that it took a lot of planning, aside from early decisions on priorities and scope, for the editorial details pertinent to the operation became most complex. Just choosing the contributing authors was quite a feat: it was not easy to select from literally thousands of candidates (many especially well qualified) those biographers most competent to submit essays on their assigned individual(s). After more than a year's search and evaluation the field narrowed down to some 235-plus acknowledged scholars, reputable military and naval historians, history professors, technical experts and authorities, etc., each with his or her personal style and writing techniques. All the first drafts had to be collated, digested, evaluated, compressed or expanded, and edited, the whole re-written endless times by consulting editors, sub-editors, and final-editors to bring all the desired information into workable (and readable) makeup for inclusion in a three-volume opus.

Considering the fact that the work covered persons of such diverse status and stature, from say presidents of the United States, five-star commanders-in-chief of sizeable army and navy groupments, to Indian chiefs and half-breeds, relatively 'unknown' military personages, and even individuals of questionable loyalty (including treasonable conduct) the cast is most impressive and extremely diverse. The time span covers roughly three and three-quarters centuries: from Captains John Smith and Miles Standish of the 1600s right down through General Westmoreland (engaged in litigation in the spring of 1985) and Admiral Rickover (taken to task in June 1985 for his relations with General Dynamics' Electric Boat Division). As the editors have so stated: *Dictionary of American Military Biography* is a reevaluation of historical figures in the military past (bearing in mind constant change), and it is not just a random collection of biographical essays, but rather from its inception 'the essays were meant to be a set, one essay in some way building upon and complementing others.' To this end they have been eminently successful: many of the accounts are absolutely fascinating, and the presentation of American history utilizing this system has proven to be realistic and lifelike, forceful and decisive, and best of all, thoroughly entertaining.

To obtain the maximum benefit from this all-encompassing dictionary the reader is strongly advised to read the introduction first to understand thoroughly the intent of the compilation, and the specific manner used to present its contents. Thereafter, the splendid, categorized appendices at the end of Volume III should be consulted. Appendix I outlines the entire time frame, contemporary events, America and overseas, a chronological listing from the various Indian Wars of the colonial era right through the entire Vietnam debacle in April 1975—forty-eight pages, no less, of major and minor campaigns, skirmishes, and miscellaneous combat confrontations in which a man can be killed just as effectively (and totally) from arrow, tomahawk, machete or kris, as from falling spars and wood splinters, poison gas, bazookas, or fragments from exploding high explosive projectiles. Equally important, Appendix V enumerates alphabetically individual name entries by conflict: early colonial, French and Indian wars, American Revolution, frontier and naval expeditions, 1783-1815, First and Second Seminole wars, Mexican and Civil Wars, post-Civil War Indian campaigns, 1865-1895 (including Philippine Insurrection and Pacification, Boxer Rebellion, 1898-1910), World Wars I and II, Korean and Vietnam operations (emergencies, police actions, interventions, call them

what you want). Last but not least, also *de rigueur* is Appendix VI, some 375 name entries by specific service or associationship, not as long as Noah's mandatory party list, but nevertheless most impressive.

Seemingly the Army got the lion's share (like the VIP quarters set aside for the big cats aboard Ark) with 221 listings, including one female, the WAAC's Colonel Hobby, and at least seven officers who held commissions in the British Army serving in North America (Amherst, Arnold, who worked both sides, Swiss-born Bouquet, ill-fated Braddock, Campbell, Earl of Loudoun, Forbes, and Wolfe) plus such other worthies as Polish engineer Kosciuszko and French military leader Lafayette. Navy entries totalled but sixty-three, including three Confederates (Buchanan, Semmes, Tattnall, along with Secretary of the Confederate Navy Mallory). Army Air Corps/Air Force number sixteen, while Marine Corps add another twelve. There are seventeen native Americans, i.e., 'Red Indians,' shown, twenty-five classified as Militia (among them Marion, Morgan, and Rogers), and twenty-one civilians ranging from one female, Civil War relief worker and nurse, Clara Barton, to a whole boatload of miscellaneous personnel, assorted secretaries of war, army, navy, and defense as well as a few outstanding inventors. A pretty good catch, not as big a bag as Noah's dragnet, the bipeds losing out to the four-footed creatures, but many equally cantankerous on land or sea or in the air.

The alphabetical listings provided a marvelous opportunity to mix personnel of wildly diverse backgrounds, contrasting cultures, and reverse outlooks. Take volume I, the leaders being Gen. Creighton Adams, one of the Army's best combat leaders, and Gen. Fred Ainsworth, one of the Army's most obstinate bureaucrats, and the last-listed, long-time Union Cavalryman Ben Grierson, and Gen. Leslie Groves, brilliant officer in charge of the Manhattan Project. Within the covers, so to speak, are Black Kettle of the Southern Cheyennes alongside Army Chief of Staff General Bliss, followed by General Braddock, victim of his own carelessness, right next to the 'G.I.'s General' Omar Bradley. Sandwiched in between another chief of staff, General Craig on the near side and General Crook on the far is none other than Crazy Horse of the Oglala Sioux, who figuratively lifted the scalp of the next entry, Gen. George Custer, at Little Big Horn. Depending on whose side you're on you can call it a 'massacre' or a 'defeat.' Wilson's secretary of the navy, prohibitionist and anti-reformer Josephus Daniels, finds himself teamed-up with the three Davises—Benjamin Oliver, Sr., first black general officer of the Army, and his son, Benjamin Oliver, Jr., first black lieutenant general of the Air Force, accompanied by Jefferson Davis, Southern cotton planter and slaveholder, secretary of war, and later president of the Confederate States of America. Another trio: Doniphan, Donovan, and Doolittle, 'movers and shakers' find their places, and hard-riding, tough as nails General Forest winds up alongside equally hard-boiled James Forrestal, workaholic first secretary of defense. Also prominent is Marine Gen. Roy Geiger, who commanded Cactus Air Force on Guadalcanal, and U.S. Tenth Army on Okinawa (following Army General Buckner's death in action), side by side with that virtually indestructible and quite unconquerable chief of the Chiricahua Apaches, Geronimo.

Volume II keeps right on moving: Union General and wartime Chief of Staff Halleck and Pacific Fleet Commander Admiral Halsey set the pace, closing down with Marine Gen. Lewis 'Chesty' Puller and Israel Putnam, senior major general of the Continental Army. In between are listed in order General Hodges who commanded the U.S. First Army in Europe (later re-assigned to the Pacific), Gen. John Hood, commanding the Texas Brigade, perhaps the Confederacy's best shock troops (Pickett's men also qualified), and Gen. Joseph Hooker, a second-string commander of the Union Army of the Potomac. The two Jacksons pass by, Andrew and Thomas, from the Battle of New Orleans to Antietam/Sharpsburg and Chancellorsville followed by Homer Lea, the military prophet, and Adm. William Leahy, chief of staff to both Presidents Roosevelt and Truman (1942-1949). Then the six Lees: Continental Army Charles; Confederate Cavalryman Fitzhugh; 'Light-Horse Harry'; Robert Edward, commanding general, Army of Northern Virginia; Samuel, Captain (later Commodore) of the Union's North Atlantic; and lastly, Stephen Dill, reputedly the Confederacy's best artillery officer. The two Lincolns are next, Abraham, President of the United States, and Benjamin, a Revolutionary War 'political general,' both of whom are allotted almost identical space in the record, regardless of their relative importance. Confederate General Longstreet (whose indecision at Gettysburg may have caused Lee's defeat) rubs shoulders

with Chief Looking Glass of the Nez Perce Tribe, killed in action at Bear Paw Mountains, Montana Territory in 1877. Intellectual Robert McNamara, controversial secretary of defense (1961-1968) is very close to intellectual Admiral Mahan, naval strategist and historian, as are Gen. Nelson Miles, last commanding general, U.S. Army (1895-1903), and the long-suffering Army Air Corps Col. 'Billy' Mitchell, who lost a general court-martial but gained national recognition and respect in the long run. Half-breed Quanah Parker, Comanche Indian warrior and important peace-time political leader (said to be the wealthiest man in Indian Territory/Oklahoma), is riding shoulder to shoulder with General George 'Blood and Guts' Patton, who, in turn, has on his flank Chief Pontiac of the Ottawas, one of the white men's most formidable adversaries on the then Western Frontier (1763-1768) following the French and Indian War.

The third and final contingent passes the Reviewing Stand, volume III. Continuing its unbroken record of peculiar mess-mates, out-of-tune associates, and unlikely companions-in-arms, the listing commences with flamboyant General Quitman of Mexican War fame and Admiral Radford, staunch member of the celebrated 'Admiral's Lobby' and a Chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff (1953-1957)—if Quitman was contemptuous of West Pointers Radford to the contrary was an avowed champion of Annapolis graduates representing professional, career officers. The third battalion terminates with George Washington midway between Gen. Lewis Wallace (one of the reviewer's favorite Union commanders, for not every Army officer can whip up a best-seller and two-time Hollywood block-buster picture show like *Ben Hur, a Tale of Christ* (1880), and Stand Watie, Cherokee Indian leader and the only 'Redskin' brigadier general in the Civil War. Fittingly, the one and only 'Z' entry is Adm. Elmo Zumwalt, without question one of the most disputatious chiefs of naval operations (1970-1974), famous for his 'Z-grams' which most assuredly made waves in the placid pools of the Navy's personnel system.

In the interim between 'Q' and 'Z' are found die-hard Red Cloud, Oglala warrior (his attempts at diplomacy were marred by the Ghost Dance fiasco and the Wounded Knee engagement (Massacre/Defeat), coupled with Gen. Walter Reed, celebrated conqueror of 'Yellow Jack,' plus the highly controversial Admiral Rickover, father of the Navy's atomic submarine program, and Gen. Matthew Ridgway, foremost Airborne combat leader of World War II, and commanding general of the Allied Ground Forces (U.S. Eighth Army, Reinforced) during the latter part of the Korean 'Police Action.' 'Teddy' Roosevelt has been allotted considerably more space than any other nominee (beating out Eisenhower, Douglas MacArthur, and George Marshall) doubtless due to the manifold duties he successively performed: assistant secretary of the Navy, volunteer colonel of the 'Rough Riders,' president of the United States, intent on modernizing the Armed Forces (Office of Chief of Staff for the Army, General Board of the Navy, in time Office of the Chief of Naval Operations). His right-hand man is Secretary of War Elihu Root (1899-1904) who enforced what his commander-in-chief had advocated, shaking the Army out of its post-Civil War doldrums and bringing order out of the logistical chaos and antiquated organizational structure so prevalent during the early Spanish-American War campaigns. Two intensely rivalrous naval officers follow: Admirals Sampson and Schley, both smarting over their actions and command relationships precipitated by the naval Battle of Santiago. The wind-up consists of three rugged individuals, representing three entirely different time frames and three completely diverse interests: Admiral Sims, long a proponent of massive expansion of the Navy (including long overdue reforms and introduction of new techniques in technical areas of construction, ordnance and fire control), and commander of U.S. naval forces in Europe in World War I; the dour Sitting Bull, Hunkpapa Sioux leader, medicine man, and defender of his people, who later in his career was a member of Buffalo Bill Cody's Wild West Show; and Gen. Holland McT. ('Howlin' Mad') Smith one of the Marine Corps' finest combat leaders, pioneer and developer of amphibious warfare techniques before and throughout World War II.

All in all a very composite, comprehensive group of officials and achievers of varying degree, representing centuries of warfare, accompanied by material progress and invention, experimentation, and reform. Leaning over the rail, contemplating the procession up the ark's side-door loading ramp, Noah must have mused: 'If they ever hand me a detail like this again, I'm going to put in for a transfer,' with no foreknowledge that the editors of the *Dictionary* under discussion

must have had similar qualms, several times over, watching their brain-child gradually assuming overwhelming dimensions. Somehow, the ark's creator and helmsman and the *Dictionary's* authors have managed to shoe-horn into their snow-balling consortium all their selected troops, albeit, in the latter instance some of their acceptances and rejections may be subject to dispute.

For a professional historian to pass judgment on whom should be admitted or denied inclusion in any select listing requires much caution, restraint, and objective thinking, lest the determination degenerate into little more than a re-arrangement of one's personal prejudices based on prior historical knowledge, service with or under the individual under evaluation. This reviewer seriously questions the qualifications of a few of the acceptees, primarily on the grounds that with printed space such a premium, only those very best-qualified can be correspondingly awarded: the almost-made-its, the under-achievers, and the obviously questionable behavior cases have a low priority in such a comparatively cut-throat listing. For example, consider some poor performers: Why Benedict Arnold, for despite his earlier heroism in the American cause he eventually became a turn-coat, his name synonymous with traitor? Why Wilkinson, a schemer, opportunist, and intriguer while serving as the highest ranking general in the American Army during the War of 1812, who clearly put his country second to his egotism? Why Conway, a duelist, conspirator, annoying thorn in Washington's and Lafayette's sides? Why Horatio Gates, of unglamorous military record, who along with Conway's backing thought himself superior to Washington, an officer who shared with Wilkinson the dubious distinction of having never won a battle nor lost a court-martial or court of inquiry? Why Wade Hampton who aside from his personal faults was about as militarily inept as his secretary of war, Armstrong? Charles Lee was found guilty of disobedience, disrespectful and contemptuous behavior toward Washington. Confederate Generals Pillow and Polk certainly turned in low command ratings; Revolutionary War Sullivan likewise overestimated his military capabilities, and David Twiggs, way out west in San Antonio, added no laurels to his reputation (or the Union Army's) when he surrendered all his department's posts and properties to a Texas Committee of Public Safety (in return for safe exit of Federal troops from the state via the coast), the state having opted for the Confederacy.

Turning to more contemporary times: Why Dawley, relieved for incompetence at Salerno? If Clark, Eisenhower, and Alexander questioned his leadership under stress, they must have had good reason for their censure. How about Fredenhall? His failures before and during Kassarine Pass were harshly criticized by Eisenhower and Truscott, even his division commanders had no faith in him. His lack of control and command performance came near to causing complete disruption of the Allied Forces' campaign in North Africa. His biographers tried to get him off the hook on the grounds that he was considered an excellent trainer of troops. The same could be said about any corporal or sergeant, drill instructor, at the Marine Corps Recruit Depot, Parris Island, S.C., guaranteeing results at far less money than a lieutenant general, USA. And lastly, how about Brereton? A major general, a senior Pacific aviator, MacArthur's Staff Air Corps adviser, the wipe-out of his combat aircraft in the Philippines in a single Japanese aerial attack on Clark Field on 8 December 1941, despite several hours' warning, was a scandal on par with Pearl Harbor. He certainly must have literally thanked 'his lucky stars' to have missed a thorough investigation and reprimand, both Generals 'Hap' Arnold and Claire Chennault being among his strident critics in his own service.

The editors throughout the work have displayed remarkable tolerance and a spirit of understanding towards those persons, regardless of rank, position, or particular branch of the service, whose record has been marred by erratic behavior, frequently resulting from overindulgence in what today are somewhat reservedly referred to as 'chemical abuse substances,' or, to those unfortunates, victims of mental stress and strain (such as Ronald Mackensie, who caved in after too many years living in the saddle, often under the most primitive conditions). The frankness exhibited in many of the individual biographies in this respect is notable and commendable for its uniform fairness as evidenced in the cases of General Short and Admiral Kimmel, the bag-holders at Pearl Harbor, to mention but two well known affairs. Some 'got off easy,' their derelictions played down, or plain unmentioned (in anybody's army or navy there are individuals such as Custer, Douglas MacArthur, and Patton, Halsey, King, and McNamara who just can't help making as many ene-

mies as they generate ardent supporters). However, this reviewer feels that in a few isolated cases the individuals concerned have been given the benefit of the doubt by their respective biographers.

General Funston, while in command of all U.S. troops along the Mexican Border in 1916, was not designated commanding general of the expeditionary force, in pursuit of Pancho Villa (real name: Doroteo Arango), but rather the plum went to recently-promoted Brig. Gen. John 'Black Jack' Pershing. Because Chief of Staff, Gen. Hugh Scott, and his Adjutant, General Bliss, knew full well (along with a lot of other people in San Antonio) that Funston, despite being the logical choice for the command billet by reason of rank, record, and physical presence, was not necessarily best-qualified for the job. Disqualification rested largely on the grounds that Funston enjoyed drinking mint juleps in the lobby of the Menger hotel every afternoon when perhaps he should have been paying closer attention to more martial matters. And because Pershing turned in such a fine performance in Northern Mexico in the face of endless frustration, and obeyed to the very letter his orders from his commander-in-chief, Mr. Wilson at the White House, he in time became the president's number one choice to lead the American Expeditionary Forces overseas in 1917. In passing, this is something Douglas MacArthur forgot to remember: that the president of the United States runs the ship, a fact of life Harry Truman made patently 'loud and clear' at the famous Wake Island confrontation. Noah, of course, was right there at the head of his gangway, counting heads and tails, and none of the creatures could claim that they had not 'got the word,' even before the rains came.

Another case concerns General Lawton. Nobody will deny his fine performance, tracking down Geronimo in Arizona, fighting the Spanish at San Juan Hill, relentlessly pursuing Aguinaldo's insurgents in Luzon, but like Patton, years later, away from the battlefield in an administrative slot, with time heavy on the hands, impulsive warriors can get into deep trouble in a hurry. His biographer did not mention one such incident: while military commander of the Department of Santiago, Cuba, in October 1898, Lawton lost control of himself. Having indulged in a six-day drinking spree during which he personally assaulted Santiago's police chief and virtually smashed to pieces one of the city's bars, reports of his behavior got back to the White House in a hurry. Whereupon, President McKinley relieved Lawton of his command, and replaced him with Gen. Leonard Wood, formerly Lawton's subordinate, military governor of the City of Santiago, and soon to be promoted to military governor of Cuba. Herein is a classic case of a superior's misconduct hastening the advancement of a junior officer, an important milestone in the rapid career of Wood, striving to reach the top and eventually becoming chief of staff of the Army from 1910 to 1914.

Turning to the other side of the coin, the reviewer was surprised at some of the omissions. Practically the entire roster of chiefs of staff of the Army from the first, Young, 1903-1904, to Maxwell Taylor, 1955-1959, the nineteenth, has rated entry into the volumes. The fifth, Wotherspoon, occupied the slot only one year—1914. The second, Gen. Adna R. Chaffee, Sr., 1904-1906, was not honored although his son, Adna R. Chaffee, Jr., was listed, prominently connected with the mechanization of the cavalry, and the formation of armored units immediately prior to World War II. Chaffee, Sr., was a fine officer of the 'old school,' who rose from the ranks during the Civil War, had a long and distinguished career as a member of the 'Indian Fighting Army,' and served as senior U.S. commander in North China following the Relief of Peking. Two other contemporaries also not nominated were troop officers of the 7th Cavalry, present as members of Custer's command at Little Big Horn (they were attached to Captain Benteen's Squadron): Winfield Edgerly and Edward Godfrey. Each put in some forty active years on the Frontier and in the Philippines, the former twenty-eight years with the 7th Cavalry, the latter twenty-nine. Future brigadier generals, they along with several other survivors of the Little Big Horn maintained an unbroken 'code of silence,' refusing to comment on the affair, particularly Custer's decisions and conduct, out of deference to his widow, as long as she lived. As things transpired they both predeceased Elizabeth Custer, General Edgerly having died in 192[illegible] and General Godfrey in 1932, Mrs. Custer holding on until April 1933 when she finally joined her husband in West Point's Cemetery. Another notable omission was Lt. Gen. William 'Big Simp' Simpson, commanding general, U.S. Ninth Army (part of Montgomery's British 21st Army Group). Having included the commanding generals of four of the five U.S. armies in the European Theater, and all three of those in the Pacific

it seems strange that Simpson was not among those chosen.

Everybody couldn't be admitted, naturally; perhaps the splendid biographies of such officers as General Truscott (Fifth Army), General Sultan (China-Burma-India), General Haupt (the Union Army's railroad expert), and General Lucas (despite his caution at Anzio) more than compensate for the missing candidates. In the case of the last-mentioned person it is regrettable that space limitations ruled out certain details. For example, during Villa's night raid on the town of Columbus, New Mexico, in March 1916, then 1st Lt. Lucas, commanding weapons platoon, headquarters, 13th Cavalry, was one of those present who did not lose his head. In spite of the darkness and the confusion he got his machine guns properly set-up, functioning, and firing for effect, no mean feat considering the type of automatic weapons with which he had been provided were notorious for their unbroken record of malfunctions (failure to feed, extract, jamming and over-heating). His experiences on the Mexican Border no doubt were just the prelude to positions of higher command on a far greater geographical basis.

For the moment the narration of the bureau chief squabbles and the eventual formation of the Army's General Staff system will be deferred until they can be discussed correspondingly with the navy's scramble to up-date its organization structure in the first decade of the present century. Suffice to say the navy entries (about one-quarter of the number of the Army's) more than make up in quality that which they might lack in quantity. The coverage of all the campaigns (in cooperation with the Army, exclusive of the Western Frontier, etc.) is excellent with perhaps two exceptions. The navy's subsidiary role of overseas discovery and exploration, opening of the world's foreign ports to American trade, and the 'showing of the flag' as a diplomatic role in the expansion of American interests overseas are all well and accurately portrayed. But for some reason the American Navy's participation in World War I and its relative insignificance in the 1920s and 1930s, if the names of outstanding naval personnel are any indication, are inadequate in the reviewer's opinion. Granted the U.S. Navy took almost a 'back seat' in World War I compared to the record of the AEF in France, Belgium, Italy, etc., for the Navy had hardly gotten started in the European Theater before the Armistice, its vital role in anti-submarine warfare, mining, patrolling (coastal, intermediate, and long range), not to mention convoy operations, was most extensive, including the ferrying of the entire AEF to British and French ports (and later carrying them back). Overlooked, too, is the performance of Admiral Rodman's Battleship Division Nine, serving from late 1917 with the British Grand Fleet as the Sixth Battle Squadron. Other than Admirals Fiske (creator of the Office of the Chief of Naval Operations, 1914-1915), and Sims (commanding U.S. Naval Forces, Europe), the senior naval officials, 1910-1920, are nominally conspicuous by their absence. Certainly, mention of Admiral Benson, the first chief of naval operations, would seem appropriate. And there are half a dozen prominent, very senior naval task force, area, bureau, and fleet commanders of the era 1922-1938 not even listed by name. Perhaps even then such later well-known World War II personalities as Halsey, King, Leahy, Nimitz, and Stark had already begun to overshine the older Pratts and Stanleys of the interim period.

In any event Secretary of Navy Daniels' feud to control the Navy exclusively as oppposed to the existing General Board of the Navy, and the Navy's own attempt to create a General Staff are recounted in considerable detail in the biographies of Daniels, Fiske, and Sims. The situation then confronting the Navy at the termination of the Spanish-American War was in many respects comparable to the Army's struggle to rid itself of the old Bureau system coupled with the Office of the Commanding General of the U.S. Army. It took the Army about ten years to clean its house, and to inaugurate an efficient Office of the Chief of Staff, 1900-1910. The Navy got started a little bit later, about 1911-1912, and it too required a decade (until about 1921) to strip ship and to rid itself of a lot of out-moded procedural concepts and operating techniques, which if applicable in the precable and wireless era (aside from all the innovations of the industrial age of steam and steel), had become patently anachronistic. The recital of these *intra-service* attempts on the part of both the Army and Navy to catch up with the twentieth century, are, in the reviewer's opinion among the very best parts of the entire *Dictionary*. The 'sound and fury' generated by these in-house debates as to which agency would be the final arbiter in their day were fought out as acrimoniously as the later *inter-service* hearings on unification of the early post-World War II period, well illustrated by the biographies of

such personages as Marshall, Arnold, Spaatz, King, and Secretary of the Navy/Defense Forrestal. Again, the editors are in line for compliments for their handling of this touchy topic.

Before ringing up 'Finished With Engines' on the Navy's bridge annunciator, a final comment on oversights with reference to more contemporary issues. No mention has been made of Vice Adm. James B. Stockdale, awarded the Medal of Honor. The reviewer is of the opinion this officer should be listed not so much for the decoration itself, but rather for that which it represents: the Senior Navy Officer Present in a Vietnamese POW Camp for some seven years, under the most trying conditions, he maintained his self-control and his sanity, and set an example of courage and fortitude to others present who might otherwise have given up hope. Another backer of Navy tradition, also unmentioned, is Adm. Stansfield Turner, USN, Ret., former commander NATO Forces in Southern Europe, and director of the CIA, 1977-1981, currently a respected foreign affairs news analyst and commentator. Surely these two officers in their respective careers of naval aviator and intelligence specialist have achieved records as noteworthy as many others, acknowledged by name in the *Dictionary*.

So much for the major leagues. Next in line the Air Force, numbering sixteen Officers. Their backgrounds are all interesting primarily because they are so different. Eight were West Point graduates, seven having been originally commissioned in the ground combat (or combat support) arms, later transferring into the Army Air Corps where they won their flight wings. Only one of the eight (Vandenberg) was graduated from the Military Academy, and went directly to flight school. Of the other eight members, two were former enlisted men, eventually detailed to the Army Aviation Section of the Signal Corps, two were ROTC graduates (Ohio State, Engineers, and Texas A & M, Field Artillery), and two were World War I 'ninety-day wonders,' OCS, assigned to the Air Corps. One (Brereton) was a Naval Academy graduate who later joined the Army Coast Artillery Corps, in time winding up as a pilot, and one (Foulois) was commissioned from the ranks in the Philippines, and successively passed through infantry, cavalry, and signal corps billets before the Army literally ordered him to 'teach himself to fly' in 1910. No wonder Air Force people consider themselves 'different.' Each and every biography well done, the aggregate figuratively covering the history of army aviation from the old stick and string days right on to super, high performance, fixed wing aircraft, intercontinental ballistic missiles, etc.

The Marine Corps section, numbering only twelve, is equally impressive, the time element reaching as far back as the Corps' fifth commandant, General Henderson, and continuing through the World War II and Korean Campaigns, so well represented by General 'Chesty' Puller, who most certainly won the hard way every one of his many combat decorations. In this section, the reviewer feels some connection with those under consideration, having either known personally or served under more than one half of them. It was gratifying to find Gen. Oliver ('O.P.') Smith among the biographies. To many marines this official appeared the ideal image of 'an officer and a gentleman,' for he possessed every favorable attribute of command, and had proven himself outstanding as a student under instruction as well as on the field of combat from Haitian jungles to Western Pacific not to mention serving as CG, 1st Marine Division (Reinforced) from the Inchon Landing to the withdrawal from the Choison Reservoir back to the east coast of Korea in late 1950. Once again in the *Dictionary*, space restricts many details: Smedley Butler won his first Medal of Honor commanding a battalion at the Vera Cruz landing in April 1914, and his second, involving literally hand-to-hand combat, at Fort Riviere, Haiti, in November 1915. Archibald Henderson, having commanded the Marine Corps for more than thirty-eight years, and with more than fifty-two years of active service on the books, died in office so to speak, in the commandant's official residence at Washington's 'Eighth & Eye' Streets, South East. He had physically resided there so many years he considered it his 'home.' Had he lived long enough to be retired (he then was almost seventy-six years of age), he would have been forced to search for and purchase a house for his wife and family.

Fittingly, Gen. Roy 'Jiggs' Geiger's name appears on the Marine roster. The only naval aviator listed, he was among the founding fathers of the Marines' air arm, who during his lifetime, flew every type of aircraft assigned to his service, as a squadron commander (in combat) in France in World War I, in Haiti and Santo Domingo in the 1920s, in Nicaragua in the 1930s, and as a Marine air wing commander at Guadalcanal, part of General Vamdergrift's 1st Marine Division (Rein-

forced). As a corps commander he took part in the Bougainville, Guam, Peleliu, and Okinawa campaigns. Not so well known were his feats as a balloonist, being an ardent champion of lighter than air contraptions, ranging from free ballooning to air-naval gunfire spotter, tethered to a dreadnought's heaving deck by wire cables and telephone lines, considered a hazardous assignment in the earlier phases of World War I. In general, Marine Corps representation in the volumes is pertinent, accurate, and certainly makes entertaining reading.

The next section, native Americans, seventeen in number, is perhaps the most fascinating component of the entire work, devoted to the exploits, trials, and tribulations of the various Indian tribes from the time of the original British colonization efforts in the early eighteenth century on the Atlantic Coast to the final gasp of the Sioux on the South Dakota-Nebraska reservations in 1890-1891, which lowered the curtain on the Far Western 'Frontier.' Some of the characters, even taking into consideration the tenor of the times, were not exactly 'nice' people. It is difficult to find anything commendable about Geronimo of the Apaches or lovable about Pontiac of the Ottawa tribe. Both were known for their long (and proven) records of cruelty, deceit and intrigue. General Miles called Geronimo 'the worst Indian who ever lived,' and the photographic plates of that individual mirror the inhumanity and ferocity of his actions. Pontiac was no better, and his detractors portray him as little more than a filthy painted savage (incorporating deliberately terrifying symbols and colors of all hues). The editors seemingly have bent over backward to portray the 'Red Indians' collectively as a native civilization brutalized by the white men, in keeping with current sympathies and the spirit of tolerance to minority groups. But it should not be overlooked that long before 1763 when the true American frontiersman took over, the various Indian tribes in North America, in the South and the Southwest, and along the Northeast Atlantic Corridor to the Appalachians, had already been pretty well victimized and abused by successive Spanish, French, and British explorers, traders, and trappers, and that initial Indian surprise and awe had quickly turned to fear, hate, resentment, and viciousness practically as a self-defense reaction. Pressure all along the Western Frontier, settlers seeking land and prospectors in search of gold, forced the Indians back further and further, year by year, and broken treaties turned the movement into a fight for survival. Most of the principal Indian leaders have been listed, and their side fairly presented, no easy task for the editors considering the amount of built-in prejudice that has accumulated over the years in numerous American history texts.

The next category, Militia, twenty-five persons, is almost a review of the advantages and disadvantages of a militia system in a western democracy, from earliest colonial times to and including the Spanish-American War. The Founding Fathers had deliberately turned away from the European system of standing armies and navies (particularly in times of nominal peace) on grounds of cost and fear of civilian domination by military castes, and historically the nation has on occasion relied more on the hope of hastily recruiting a volunteer force of semi-trained amateurs to meet a crisis situation, than maintaining a professional, long-serving, and highly trained force-in-readiness, geared to meet such a contingency.

The late Professor Robert Albion, Gardiner Professor of Oceanic History at Harvard University, long championed a personal theory that almost any citizen, provided he is healthy, has acquired some degree of financial stability, has ambition, and the charm and ability to lead men can serve in anybody's army as a colonel or general of volunteers, the rank of course dependent on the number of followers he might collect. On foot or on horseback with the ground under him such a leader can't get into too great difficulty if he maintains control and employs reasonable common sense (for relief or reinforcements can usually be counted upon). Not so in the case of the Navy. Here, afloat, things are far different. A mariner has got to know something of seamanship and navigation for he's at the mercy of the elements. Unlike a 'land officer' a seagoing leader shares every moment of each twenty-four-hour day with the entire ship's complement, the admiral, captain, and/or commanding officer literally 'in the same boat' as the lowliest seaman or fireman. The 'skipper' must know where he is and what's going on, and aboard any vessel constant vigilance and full responsibility must be maintained, requiring a high degree of professional competence and personal leadership. An amateur colonel or general may get time to 'learn on the job,' and to improve himself professionally. But an amateur naval officer seldom gets an

opportunity to rectify a past error: there is no room for hesitation, procrastination, or professional ineptitude on the bridge or in the war command compartment aboard a man-of-war. Hence, according to Professor Albion, you can take a chance on appointing colonels and generals, but you'd better think twice before endorsing captains' and admirals' commissions with reference to non-regular officers. There are also creature comforts involved: a general's command post may be far distant from the front lines. An admiral's cabin—and the entire ship and every soul aboard it—can be demolished by one enemy salvo.

So the 'Albion Theory' seems pretty well demonstrated by the careers of many of the militia officers presented in the *Dictionary*. When they were 'good they were very, very good' but when they were 'bad they were horrible.' The more spectacular among the group: Ethan Allen (the Green Mountain Boys), Francis Marion (the 'Swamp Fox'), Daniel Morgan (Morgan's Riflemen), Robert Rogers (Roger's Rangers), and 'Teddy' Roosevelt (1st U.S. Volunteer Cavalry) became pages in history books. Morgan's double envelopment at Cowpens, a set battlefield scenario if there ever was one (Wellington and Montgomery would have approved of it) was most certainly the tactical masterpiece of the American Revolution: Morgan did to Tarleton what Hannibal did to Varo at Cannae in 216 B.C., and what Hindenburg and Ludendorff did to Samsonoff at Tannenberg in August 1914. Rogers, no less gifted, gained prominence for his celebrated march through the wilderness to attack the Indian stronghold at St. Francis, near the St. Lawrence, in October 1759. Roosevelt's leadership at San Juan Hill (whether he was afoot or mounted is still debated, but the cavalry troopers were very definitely 'dismounted') certainly gave him a lot of mileage in his subsequent campaigns for political office.

Most of the other parties mentioned, although not necessarily best-qualified from a military standpoint, nevertheless gained prominence for their accompanying political and diplomatic efforts, and each in his own way, helped to further the national aims, although at times the course erratic and the speed uncertain. Considering the vastly complex qualifications of this diverse group, that portion of the volumes devoted to the Militia Officers has been admirably accomplished by the editors.

The final section, the twenty-one civilians, really covers a lot of territory: just about everybody and everything, including the proverbial kitchen sink, has been given a place. Included are President Lincoln, two secretaries of defense (Forrestal and McNamara), five secretaries of war (Alger, Baker, Calhoun, Root, and Stanton), five secretaries of the navy (Bancroft, Daniels, Mallory [Confederate], Stoddert, and Welles), two inventors (Eads and Ericsson), one military industrialist (Anderson), one feminist/nurse/Red Cross worker (Barton), one shipbuilder (Humphreys), one Indian trader (Moore), and the two indefatigable colonists, Captains John Smith of Virginia and Miles Standish of Massachusetts. It seems unnecessary, if not in poor taste, to comment further on the careers of many of those persons, so well are they established in the history of the nation. However, to give credit where credit is due, the individual biographies of Forrestal and McNamara are most illuminating as are those of Alger, Baker, and Root, the last group mentioned being so influential in the reform of the U.S. Army. A fitting climax to a splendid recitation of deserving Americans.

Errors and omissions: in a work of this length it is remarkable that so few have been encountered, reflecting most favorably on the meticulous editing of its authors. In the first category, only three of miniscule importance. Volume III, page 909: Camp Eagle Pass, Texas, is referred to as a 'fortification.' Perhaps 'field fortification' or 'fortified outpost' would be preferable. Anybody expecting to find a Fort Adams or a Fortress Monroe in the wilds of West Texas, built to conventional Vauban trace, will be disappointed. In 1917-1918 it is probable the camp was fortified not by brick and granite but rather by sandbags, ration boxes, hay bales, etc. Volume III, page 1056: Adm. Lord Mountbatten's headquarters were at 'Delhi' not 'Delphi,' purely a typographical slip. Volume III, appendix V, page 1296: under Post-Civil War Campaigns, the name Powell is listed in the roster of army officers and Indians. There is no biography of any Powell included in the *Dictionary*. The reviewer concludes that reference here is made to Capt. James Powell (page 902), victor of the 'Wagon Box Fight' in Wyoming in 1867. In the second category, certain omissions have already been mentioned under the Army and Navy sections. One possible addition: it seems very strange indeed to this reviewer that the U.S. Coast Guard has been ignored to the degree that not a single officer from that service was selected. Granted the Coast Guard in peacetime

is technically not considered part of the U.S. naval service, and has had a variety of functions and missions during its long lifetime, the Coast Guard's record in the Spanish-American War, World Wars I and II, and even in Vietnam has been impressive and noteworthy. Surely, the admiral commanding the coast guard in World War II had comparable responsibilities to his navy and marine corps contemporaries, and the writer feels that person should have been included.

This long recital of distinguished personages leads to a few obvious conclusions. To be cynical you can go along with the group who believe that wars are won by that party which makes the fewest mistakes. Continuing, some parties feel with considerable justification that the armed forces of the United States always emerge well trained, equipped, and opinionated to fight the previous war, that in peacetime our training (and thinking) permits us to do a lot of things completely useless or undesirable in time of war, that we are too concerned with gadgets and luxuries rather than facing reality including maximum utilization of manpower, materials, and cash. In a more positive vein it would appear this roll call teaches the reader something about the desirable attributes of a leader, especially in combat: the necessity of command presence, attitude and personal appearance, undeniable integrity and military talent, the ability to assume responsibility and to make decisions (often under extreme duress), self-confidence and the willingness to take risks, and above all a good command relationship—down to the lower echelons as well as up to the highest, the commander-in-chief of the United States. These are but a few of the qualifications. Even luck should not be discounted: after all *if* Arnold had not been wounded in the siege of Quebec, *if* he had had only 100 more men (to make up for the company that deserted on the trail), it is quite possible that all of Eastern Canada from the Great Lakes to the Maritimes would have fallen to the American colonists, quite a prize for one firefight.

The final conclusion is self-evident: it would seem doubtful if anybody is going to try to improve on the *Dictionary* so well has it been written and carefully edited. When Noah watched the last file of animals, particularly the elephants, debark from the Ark and head for the trail, he must have said to himself: 'This is going to be a tough act to follow.' Any party willing to tackle Editors Spiller and Dawson might bear that thought in mind.

Col. Roger Willock, USMC, Ret.

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Index to Volumes XLI-XLV

Dates in parentheses after the names of vessels indicate either the years of building or the reference. Dates indicating the year of the reference are printed in italic type; vessels having compound names are indexed under the initial letter of the *first* word. A list of vessels having compound names, arranged alphabetically by their *last* names, follows the index.

The cumulative five-year index to Volumes XLI (1981) through XLV (1985) was prepared by Geraldine M. Ayers of the Peabody Museum Staff.

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Ash, Newton
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Bells, Three
Betty, Charming
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Blue, True
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Boulogne, Bark of
Brewer, Hannah
Bride, Pilot's
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Burgess, Martha
C., Catherine
C, Elsa
Caesar, Julius
Carlos V., Emperator
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Chisholm, Mary F.
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City, Quaker
Clark, Hadley
Cleveland, President
Clifton, Emma
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D., Gertrude
Dan and Christine
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Dauphin, Le
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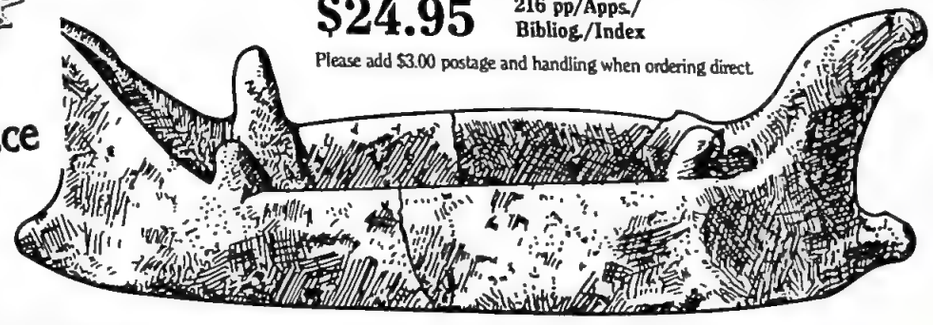

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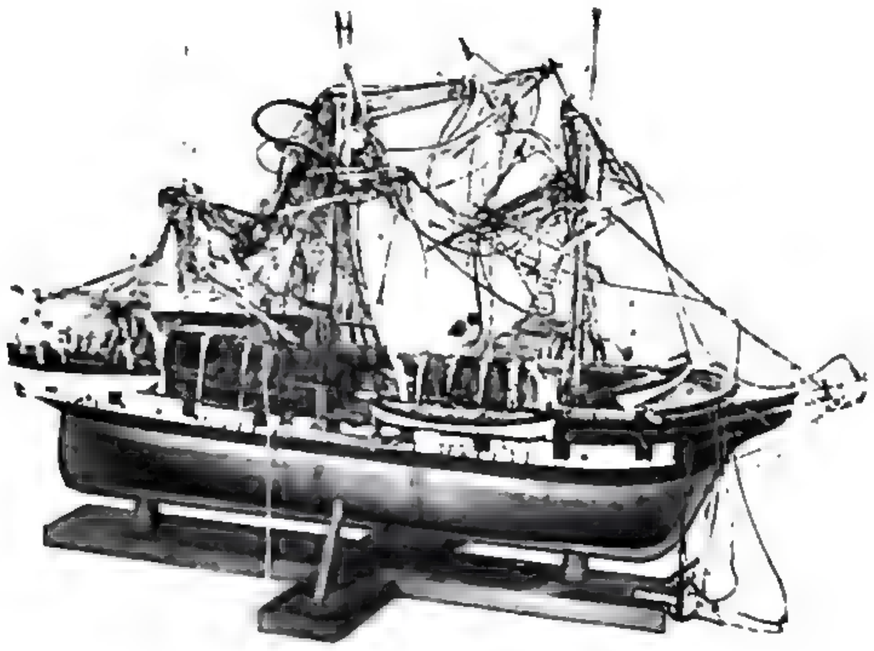

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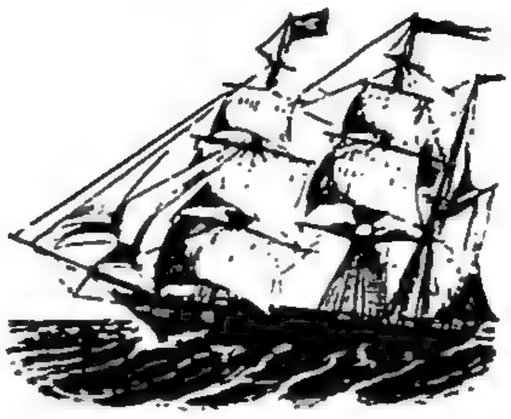

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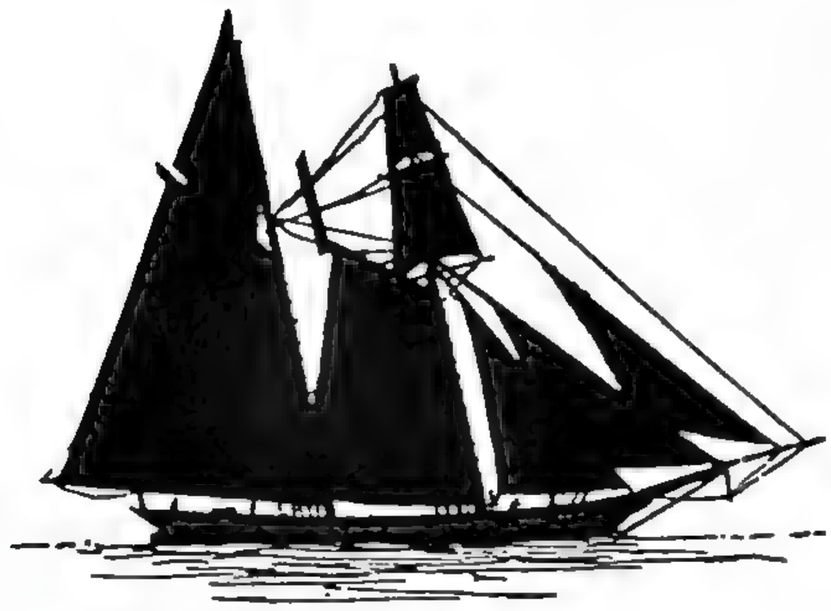

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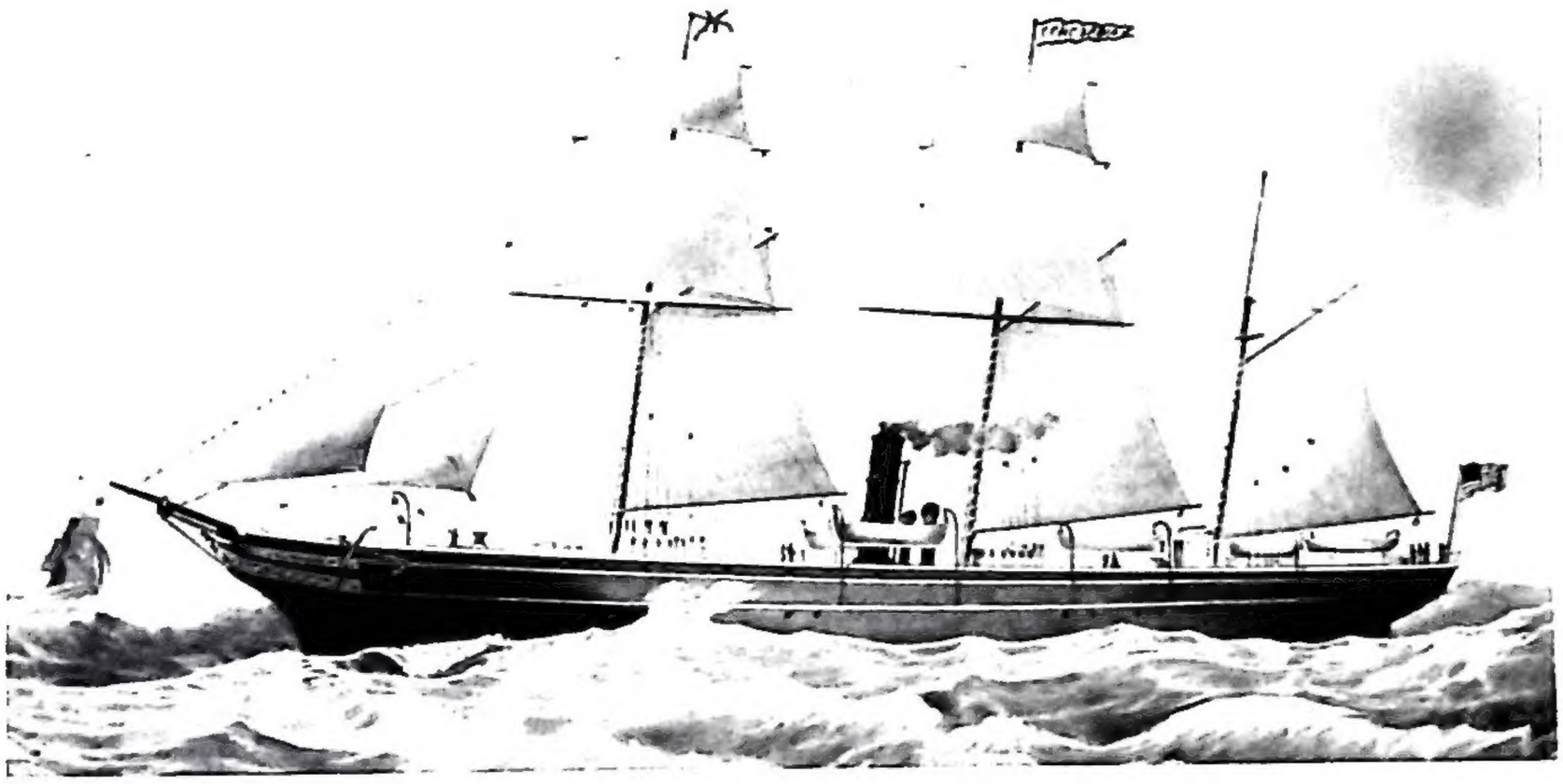

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